

Daily Report

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U.S-Libyan Conflict Called 'Serious Burden'

*LD1101102889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0054 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] UN/New York Ambassador Dr Siegfried Zachmann, the GDR permanent representative to the UN, stated yesterday at the UN Security Council that the GDR fully shared the world public's anxiety over the renewed intensification of the situation in the southern Mediterranean. The shooting down of two Libyan aircraft by U.S. forces was an act of aggression that can in no way be justified. The GDR considered such action, and the continual threat of violence against Libya, as a serious burden to the process of improving the international situation, which had made progress just in the last year.

The GDR spokesman stressed that a further confrontation and intensification of the situation must be avoided by level-headed behavior and willingness to negotiate. The world public was right to be anxious that the increasing efforts of the international community to solve disputes and conflicts by exclusively peaceful means were being torpedoed and thoughtlessly put at risk.

It was to be hoped that Libya's offer to enter into direct talks with the U.S. Administration to settle the conflict would not be turned down.

The GDR supported the consistent struggle of many neighboring states on the Mediterranean to establish a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Dr Zachmann said further. The GDR decisively favors settling the conflicts in Africa and in the Middle East, as well as those everywhere in the world, peacefully by means of negotiations. The GDR believes the new Soviet disarmament initiatives, welcomed worldwide, must not be allowed to be answered by threats and violence.

Malile Speaks at Chemical Weapons Conference

*AU1101102689 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 11 Jan 89*

["The PSR of Albania Has Been and Is for the Prohibition of the Production and Use of Chemical Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Annihilation—From the Speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile at the International Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA)—Taking the floor at the international conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons which is holding its proceedings in Paris, the head of the delegation of the PSR of Albania, the foreign minister Reiz Malile, said among others:

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania shares in the anxiety of the international community on the proportions assumed by the armaments' race, especially that of the mass annihilation weapons.

For these reasons the Albanian Government evaluates and hails all those sincere efforts made to give an end to the armaments' race, including the chemical one.

The reality is that the armament with all kinds of weapons continues nonstop. The modernisation of chemical weapons, the production of new ones, both the binary ones with a very high degree of toxicity and their use in many cases, show that the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the resolutions of UN on this problem not only are not respected, but ignored and violated instead. The superpowers and many other states following them have worked out and applied programs on the production and modernisation of these weapons. To the worst, they also been used by causing numerous victims and other grave consequences.

In treating of the problem of chemical weapons, Comrade Reiz Malile went on, exists a great contradiction, which stands in the very conception of the Geneva Protocol, which while it prohibits the use of chemical weapons allows their production and their keeping in stocks.

Although, since 1971, Reiz Malile said further on, organisms of the UN, especially the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, have been discussing on the chemical weapons and the danger they pose, no positive step has been made in the direction of chemical disarmament. It is out of any doubt that the development and distribution of chemical weapons up to the present stage is not a spontaneous process, but a result of the race between the USA and the Soviet Union. It is they who possess the biggest arsenals of chemical weapons, advanced technologies of production and the means of their use, which just as the other weapons are incessantly modernised.

The sound reason demands that when we speak on the chemical weapons, armament or even the chemical disarmament in no way can all the states be placed on the same plane. Both those who are the biggest producers and possessors of these weapons and those who do not possess them, both those who prevent the solution of the problem and those who maintain a positive and constructive stand. To do such a thing means to hide the truth in that degree that it is hard to believe that things will be made right and the situation will be changed to the good. In these circumstances, the urgent demand is made that international forums as this which is holding its proceedings now define accurate, clear, and realisable objectives.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reiz Malile pointed out, has followed and follows always an independent policy and to the good of peace. In this direction it renders its own contribution. It has not and does not allow in its territory foreign military bases and troops, something which is sanctioned in its Constitution. It has only been and is for the prohibition of the use of

chemical weapons, against the production and accumulation of these weapons but is for their complete elimination, so as it is for the elimination of the nuclear weapons and the other weapons of mass annihilation.

We would welcome the achievement of an international convention, that would define concrete measures on chemical disarmament. Such an instrument would assume full values, if it would ensure the final and the speedier destruction of chemical weapons.

Ideas have been also set forth on the creation of zones free of chemical weapons. When such proposals are made from the countries of the region and aim to create and strengthen the understanding and a more favourable atmosphere in the relations among the states, there is no doubt that they are rational. But we cannot fail to say that although such thing might be realised, the real threat the existing arsenals of mass annihilation weapons pose, which know no limit and might be extended to every point of the globe, would not be completely avoided.

To the opinion of the Albanian delegation, apart from the importance in itself of the chemical disarmament as a step forward, it represents only one aspect of the general disarmament, which should be coped with in its complexity and on its whole as a basis for the international security. This means that when we discuss the chemical weapons and disarmament, this should be done in order to take concrete steps on the long run of the process of disarmament as a whole.

In conclusion, Comrade Reiz Malile said that according to the opinion of the Albanian delegation, in this context the United Nations as an universal organization which must be a transmitter of the voice and anxiety of the international community, carrying out in this way its own mission in accordance with the spirit and dispositions of the Charter and the desires of the peoples that wish to live free and independent, in peace and security, should play an important role.

Nako Submits 1989 Draft Budget Report

*AU0301123189 Tirana ZERI POPULLIT in Albanian
28 Dec 88 p 1, 3-4*

["On The Expected Fulfillment of the 1988 State Budget and the Draft State Budget for 1989—Report Presented in the Name of the Council of Ministers by Comrade Andrea Nako, Minister of Finance," at the session of the People's Assembly in Tirana on 27 December]

[Text] Comrade deputies, 1988 was characterized by the comprehensive mobilization of the working masses to fulfill the tasks of the state plan, under the leadership of the party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

The splendid celebration of the 80th anniversary of the birth of the unforgettable leader of the party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, became a great source of inspiration for carrying out the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress and the Fifth and Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenums.

Consistently following the principle of relying entirely on our own resources, the general financial earnings of the state and of agricultural cooperatives recorded an increase in comparison with 1987, particularly in the northeastern region. The state budget, financed without interruption, expanded socialist reproduction, basic investments, the development of education, culture, science, and measures to safeguard the people's health and the defense capability of the homeland. During the year, the necessary financial resources supported measures taken by the party for certain improvements in the network of state social security by reducing the retirement age of working people in the textile and engineering industries and giving financial assistance to agricultural cooperatives in hilly and mountainous regions.

A further characteristic of the year was that the overwhelming majority of enterprises met and surpassed their financial targets. Nevertheless, some enterprises in agriculture, the energy industry, light industry, construction, and mining did not meet their financial targets according to the plan. As a result, the state budget earnings were 91 percent fulfilled, and were 81 percent fulfilled in agricultural cooperatives as a whole.

These failures to meet financial targets, alongside deficits in the production and turnover of goods, are a result of shortcomings in management and organization. As the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum stressed, there have been shortcomings in the planning of financial and economic targets, and economic and financial levers and methods have not been properly used. The increased costs noticed in some industrial, transportation, and construction enterprises have been a result of poor technical discipline and the excessive use of raw materials and energy, as well as the excessive use of the wage funds, unjustified by increased production.

These shortcomings and nonfulfillments testify to inadequate work on the part of the organs of the financial system from the base up to the Ministry of Finance and the General Directorate of the State Bank. The working methods of these organs have not properly responded to the tasks set by the party for a greater role and influence in the detection and timely prevention of all negative phenomena in the field of production, distribution, and investment in construction, especially through more effective control by means of the lek.

In 1988, a range of measures was enacted to tighten the savings regimen and increase profitability by saving about 250 million leks in costs, especially in costs of an administrative and nonproductive nature. There were also special efforts to reduce the state grants that the budget finances. In comparison with last year, the total amount of losses was reduced and losses were totally eliminated in some individual enterprises. Nevertheless, some agricultural enterprises, such as those of Mamurras in Kruje District, Spitalle in Durres District, and some oil and construction enterprises, emerged with above-plan losses because of shortfalls in production and increased costs. The working collectives of these enterprises are therefore faced with the task of taking specific measures to eliminate losses through a fuller use of their material and technical base, higher production and improved quality, better productivity, and lower costs. The Council of Ministers has entrusted the ministries, the executive committees of the people's councils in the relevant districts, and the Ministry of Finance to punctually analyze the economic and financial results for 1988 and to prescribe measures to extract these enterprises from their backwardness.

In 1988 further measures were taken in the management of socialist property through refining financial documentation, especially documentation between enterprises, and tightening internal control in enterprises, institutions, and agricultural cooperatives. Forms and methods of control were further refined, often assuming a prophylactic character, and were enforced simultaneously in many branches of the economy. As a result of the measures taken in this field, damage and maladministration of property are on the decline.

Comrade deputies, relying on the guidelines of the AWP Central Committee and its sixth plenum and on the valued instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, the draft financial plan and the draft state budget for 1989 have been prepared, and the Council of Ministers now submits them for discussion and approval. The planned budget provides for earnings of 9,550 million leks and expenditure of 9,500 million leks, with a surplus of earnings over expenditure of 50 million leks.

The 1989 draft budget is a synthesis of financial indices and economic indices that has been discussed by all working collectives. It expresses realistic possibilities for the growth of our socialist economy and has the following fundamental characteristics:

The financial targets are the result of the most realistic planning and are in accordance and harmony with economic targets. The general financial income of the state will rise by 9.4 percent compared with the expected level of fulfillment for 1988.

Alongside increased production, reduced costs and continually improving profitability in all areas of the economy remain important factors for increasing financial resources. Financial accumulation for 1989, in its two principal forms, is expected to be about 13 percent more than the expected level of fulfillment for 1988. This will secure more than 67 percent of the income of the state budget.

Reduced production costs are expected to ensure an important part of the increased net income of enterprises. This important index of efficiency should be examined down to the most basic levels of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives; factors which lead to reduced costs should be identified, and systematic analysis of the fulfillment of tasks must be carried out. Fulfilling labor productivity goals and the use of wage funds with a strict eye to savings are important reserves for reducing costs. Since remuneration for labor is gained by the toil of all the working people, correct relations between average wages, norms, and increased production must be imposed and maintained.

The scientific fixing of norms for the use of raw materials, fuel, and energy for every production unit; providing incentives for working people to exercise economy; and entrusting them with material responsibility for all waste are important tasks for all state and economic bodies. The experience of vanguard collectives, such as the Petro Pape tool works in Korce, the Rubik copper enterprise, the Fier food enterprise, and so forth, shows that significant savings and economies in raw and other materials can be achieved by refining production technologies and tightening technological discipline. Analysis shows that the economy suffers damage from the shortcomings that exist in this field. Thus, in flour-milling, bread production, and the production of dairy goods, there have been significant nonfulfillments, excess wastage, and reductions in quality, whose elimination would result in more flour, bread, and dairy products. Besides enterprises, ministries and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts of Durres, Kruje, Fier, Lezhe, and Sarande must look into this problem.

In 1989, financial resources are expected to rise by over 5 percent more than the increase in the social product and by over 2 percent more than the national income. This lead is an expression of the necessity of giving support to the pace and balance of the country's socio-economic development.

In order to maintain this balance, the ministries and executive committees of people's councils in the districts must enact measures to increase economic efficiency, especially through a full use of the material and technical

base. There are a substantial number of cases in which basic funding rises higher than the increase in production and accumulation, as a result of failures to fully use production capacity or long delays in installing machinery, equipment, and production lines, mainly because of subjective reasons and failures of control. To remedy this situation quickly, on the guidelines that have been issued, specific measures should particularly be taken by the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the General Directorate of the Engineering Industry, and the Ministry of Energy. The foreign trade, banking, and financial organs, as the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum instructed, are also required not only to "vet" every request for imports, but to tighten their control, their sense of responsibility, and the regulations governing finance and credit for imported machinery, equipment, and materials so that they can be used at the expected level of efficiency.

A satisfactory pace for attaining the economic and financial targets of the agricultural cooperatives is also provided for. Alongside an increase of 13.2 percent in their general incomes and the priority that is to be given to accumulation funds, the consumption fund will also rise by 20 percent. This will make it possible for the value of a day's labor in 1989 to be, on average, 13 percent higher than that achieved in 1988.

To support these objectives, the state budget provides financial means for a greater role for investment and current account funding in higher-type agricultural cooperatives, as well as increases in the level of credit, especially for cooperatives in hilly and mountainous regions. Measures are anticipated for the wider use of economic levers in relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, in order to encourage production in quality and quantity for both domestic consumption and export, as well as to enforce the other decisions taken by the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress.

In order to increase the profitability of foreign trade and improve the state's foreign currency balance of payments, and in pursuit of the guidelines of the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum, production and foreign trade organs have been given the task of increasing export goods in both quantity and quality, improving the export-import structure, and better exploiting foreign markets and market opportunities. The financial and banking authorities must also respond with more professional work and a deeper understanding of foreign currency markets, their functioning, and the fluctuations they undergo under the influence of the crisis of the capitalist and revisionist currency system—they should exploit these fluctuations in the interest of our country, in order to increase earnings from nontrading activities.

There will be improvements in problems of money circulation during 1989. Specific measures are anticipated to increase the production of common consumer goods and to extend essential services throughout the towns and countryside, to guarantee supplies to the people, and to cover the people's purchasing power. The

state, planning, financial, and banking authorities are required to tighten their control over the production and punctual distribution of goods in quantity and quality by considering the triangle of production, consumption, and accumulation as a unity and the basis for socioeconomic development. The internal trading authorities must further improve their work in relations with the producers of goods and with agriculture in order to better meet market demands and to improve retail standards and services to the people.

Further characteristics of the 1989 draft budget include the more economical and effective use of financial resources and the implementation of party guidelines to spend less than is earned. For this reason, the increase in the general financial expenditure of the state, in comparison with the expected level of 1988, is expected to be at a lower rate than the rise in earnings.

In distributing of financial resources, in accordance with the guidelines of the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum, priority will be given to financing the productive sphere. It is expected that the state budget and the internal resources of enterprises themselves will finance about 11 percent more expenditure in 1989 compared with 1988, equal to about 54.5 percent of the general financial expenditure of the state. By preserving the priority of the development of branches of industry that produce production and agricultural equipment, other branches of the economy that produce common consumer goods and services to the people will also be better supported by investments and other forms of expenditure.

The greatest possible effectiveness must be attained in the use of financial resources, especially investment funds, which are expected to account for more than 42 percent of the total expenditure in the state budget. Particular attention must be paid to the enforcement of completion dates and the punctual commissioning of projects, because through delays for subjective reasons, large investment invest remain waiting for their return, and their effectiveness is thus reduced.

All economic and state bodies are faced with complex tasks for further reinforcing material, financial, and foreign currency reserves in order to accelerate the movement of money in circulation and to maintain the pace of distribution of production, meeting the needs of the people and the economy on time.

The draft 1989 budget reflects the guidelines of the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum for improving the structure of the use of financial resources through further enforcing measures for more economical expenditure in the nonproductive sphere, especially in administration. For the development of education, culture, and science, for safeguarding the health of the people, for social security and other measures of a social and cultural

character, 5.2 percent more expenditure is expected in comparison with the expected level of 1988. This is equal to 30.6 percent of the expenditure in the 1989 draft budget.

Measures are being taken to increase the effectiveness of spending in cultural and scientific institutions. With this in mind, economic methods are being used more widely to tie expenditure more closely to results in scientific, artistic, and sporting achievements, to increase the responsibilities of working people in these sectors, and to better use the material and technical base.

The health and social security authorities are faced with the task of reducing temporary absences from work through sickness and of effectively administering the funds allocated for this purpose, which account for about 14 percent of the expenditure of the state budget.

About 11 percent of the total expenditure in the draft state budget is expected to be allocated to strengthening the homeland's defense capability, and 1.7 percent to the maintenance of the state administration.

In accordance with the responsibilities given to the people's councils in the districts and to lower levels for managing socioeconomic activity under their jurisdiction, the draft state budget for 1989 provides for a total of 4,137 million leks, equal to 43.5 percent of the expenditure in the state budget. Ministries, executive committees of people's councils in the districts, and financial and planning bodies are also giving greater help to people's councils at all levels so that they may fully acquaint themselves with and exercise the responsibilities given to them in the field of planning and budgeting and may increase the role they play as institutions of the power of the people in the management of labor in the economy and other social and cultural activities. The 1989 draft budget presents the executive committees of people's councils in the districts with the task of managing economic and financial problems in a more professional way. They must develop their forms of assistance and control and their demands for accountability in their relations with enterprises and economic bodies in order to ensure complete fulfillment of the tasks of the economic and financial plan, the full use of existing productive capacity, reductions in costs, increased efficiency and accumulation, and strict economy in expenditure. Investing and executive bodies are required to exercise more control so that investments will be completed on time and at the lowest possible cost, and so that every project can guarantee the production and accumulation that is planned.

The ministries and other central institutions, the executive committees of people's councils in the districts, the Ministry of Finance, and the State Control Commission are charged with refining and further extending organizational and technical measures in the field of the administration of socialist property at every stage of the circulation cycle of financial and material resources.

Measures are being taken to carry out the tasks determined by the Presidium of the People's Assembly to refine work in the accounting sections of enterprises and agricultural cooperatives and to improve standards of internal economic and financial control. The work that has been done and the results that have been achieved, particularly in such districts as Tirana, Eibasan, Berat, and Gjirokaster must be further pursued, as must steps in the matter of reducing and eliminating personal debts. When it is a question of attitudes toward socialist property, it is a matter of creating everywhere an atmosphere that "frowns upon" cases of damage and misuse. The necessary measures must be enforced, according to the principle of "whoever damages makes recompense."

Comrade deputies, the tasks set by the 1989 draft state budget, which the Council of Ministers submits for discussion and approval, are realistic, stimulate mobilization, and are entirely feasible.

Budget Approved, Detailed

AU0301142089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
29 Dec 88 p 1

["Law on the State Budget for 1989"]

[Text] In accordance with Article 67 of the Constitution, and on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

Clause 1

The state budget for 1989, submitted by the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, is approved as follows:

	Leks
Income	9,550 million
Expenditure	9,500 million
Surplus	50 million

Clause 2

The total amount of income from the socialist economy (productive sphere) in the state budget for 1989 is set at 9,194 million leks.

Clause 3

The total amount of income from the nonproductive sphere (scientific institutions, day nurseries, kindergartens, cinemas, theaters, and so forth) and other income from the socialist sector for 1989 is set at 356 million leks.

Clause 4

The total amount of expenditure for financing the socialist economy (for the further development of industry, mines, geology, the energy industry, agriculture, transportation, the communal economy, and other branches

of the economy) in the state budget for 1989 is set at 4,998 million leks, apart from expenditure which will be covered by the resources of the enterprises themselves.

Clause 5

The total amount of expenditure to finance measures of a social and cultural nature (for children's nurseries, eight-grade elementary schools, elementary vocational schools, general and vocational secondary schools, universities and colleges of education, libraries, radio, television, theaters, children's nurseries, hospitals, sanatoria, physical culture, pensions, grants to mothers of many children, and other social and cultural measures) in the state budget for 1989 is set at 2,908 million leks.

Clause 6

The state budget for 1989 allocates 1,075 million leks for the country's defense.

Clause 7

The state budget for 1989 allocates 163 million leks for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus.

Clause 8

Expenditure of 4,137 million leks is allocated to the budgets of the people's councils in the districts in 1989, distributed according to districts as follows:

	Leks
1. Berat District	182,300,000
2. Diber District	162,700,000
3. Durres District	300,500,000
4. Elbasan District	245,750,000
5. Fier District	250,350,000
6. Gramsh District	72,900,000
7. Gjirokaster District	118,850,000
8. Kolonje District	45,400,000
9. Korce District	260,000,000
10. Kruje District	115,700,000
11. Kukes District	122,100,000
12. Lezhe District	76,700,000
13. Librazhd District	74,900,000
14. Lushnje District	149,550,000
15. Mat District	102,000,000
16. Mirdite District	78,850,000
17. Permet District	64,050,000
18. Pogradec District	100,050,000
19. Puke District	68,700,000
20. Sarande District	144,550,000
21. Skrapar District	74,250,000
22. Shkoder District	289,700,000
23. Tepelene District	77,800,000
24. Tirana District	611,900,000
25. Tropoje District	77,450,000
26. Vlore District	270,000,000

Clause 9

The final state budget for 1987 is approved as follows:

	Leks
Income	8,701,285,673.80
Expenditure	8,694,875,336.50
Surplus	6,410,337.30

Clause 10

The Council of Ministers will allocate the income and expenditure of the state budget to ministries, other central institutions, and the executive committees of people's councils in the districts, and will take measures to fulfill it.

Clause 11

This law comes into force on 1 January 1989.

Tirana, 28 December 1988

Law number 7272

Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.
Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

State Plan for 1989 Passed

Commission Gives Nod

AU0301193089 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI 1
POPULLIT in Albanian on 28 December 1989 publishes on page four the 1,800-word report of the Permanent Planning and Budget Commission of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, delivered to the People's Assembly on 27 December 1988 by its chairman, Luan Muhameti.

The report begins by saying that the Commission "approves the draft plan and budget that has been presented, presenting at the same time a number of ideas that should be taken into consideration in the course of implementing the planned tasks in 1989."

The report states that "One of the fundamental directions of all state and economic bodies must be to tighten the regimen of thrift by reducing costs and raising productivity, as well as to further increase the efficiency of the economy as a whole, particularly through a more economical utilization of raw and other materials, investments, expenditure in the nonproductive sectors, and so forth."

The report also goes on to state that "more discipline and control" are needed to resolve a number of practical problems which "are not insoluble." "Economic thinking must be applied more thoroughly," in various branches of the economy, particularly in the engineering industry.

Dealing with the question of investments, the report states that "Increased efficiency of investments and foreign currency assets must be one of the major directions requiring the attention of investing, designing, and construction organs," adding that "more control" is needed at all administrative levels: "The failure to fulfill plans in the oil, chrome, agricultural, and other sectors, derives primarily from organizational shortcomings, but also from the failure to make prompt and efficiently use of the large assets placed by the state at the disposal of these sectors," adding further that "it is essential that Comrade Lavdosh Hametaj, the minister of energy, and Comrade Llambi Gegprifti, the minister of industry and mining, adopt all necessary measures to follow up the performance and to better control the tasks set for these branches.

The report also criticizes the importing of metal-cutting machinery at a time when the existing stocks of such machinery are not being fully utilized, and proposes that the Council of Ministers devote its attention to this problem. The Commission also recommends that more can be done to increase the range of exports and to improve the quality of exported commodities, adding: "The sale of commodities in foreign markets must be better subjected to the calculation of economic benefits because there have been cases of unprofitable transactions during the current year."

Dealing with the agricultural sector, the Commission's report points out that differences in the performance of various districts and agricultural units operating in more or less similar conditions show that there are considerable reserves, and possibilities to increase agricultural and livestock production.

The report goes on to state: "Despite improvements, the problems pertaining to supplying the population with agricultural products and mass consumer commodities must continually be considered to be an important task of all state and economic organs from the base to the center. We say this because there are still shortcomings and weaknesses in the implementation of the tasks stipulated by the Third AWP Central Committee Plenum. If there are perceptible failures in the production of milk from the concentrated herds in a number of districts, this is due partly to shortcomings in the forage base. However, there is an obvious tendency on the part of the Ministry of Agriculture, directed by Comrade Themie Thomai, to understate the problems pertaining to the forage base and other fodder reserves for the livestock. This also applies to the executive committees of the people's councils, down to the leading organs of agricultural economies, not mentioning other departments that are confronted with tasks in this field."

Before inviting the deputies to unanimously approve the draft plan and budget presented to the People's Assembly, the report also stresses the need to tighten control at all levels to protect and properly administer socialist property.

Targets Outlined

AU0301135989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
29 Dec 88 p 1

["Law on the State Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1989"]

[Text] After examining the draft plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1989, in accordance with Article 67 of the Constitution, and on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

Article 1

The main targets of the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1989, in comparison with the expected level of fulfillment in 1988, are approved as follows:

General industrial production will rise by 6.8 percent and general agricultural production by 16.9 percent.

The total volume of investments for the development of the economy and culture will rise by 2.2 percent, the total transportation of goods in terms of tonne/kilometers by 4.8 percent, rail transportation by 5.8 percent, and passenger transportation by 3.7 percent. The export of goods will rise by 19.6 percent, the retail turnover of goods for cash by 5.7 percent, and services to order for the people by 11.5 percent. The social productivity of labor will rise by 4.2 percent, and labor productivity in industry by 3 percent.

Article 2

The Council of Ministers will allocate the 1989 Plan to the ministries and other central institutions and will take measures to implement the tasks stemming from it.

Article 3

This law comes into force on 1 January 1989

Tirana, 28 December 1988

Law number 7271

Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.
Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

U.S.-Libya Conflict Viewed
*AU1001165189 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 9 Jan 89 p 4*

[Lyudmil Totev article: "United States-Libya: Danger Remains"]

[Text] The anti-Libyan campaign, conducted for several years now by the United States, again represents a threat for peace in that part of the Mediterranean. The unfounded U.S. accusations related to the purpose of the pharmaceutical plant near Tripoli has contributed to the increasing tension between the two countries. Despite the precise clarifications of the Libyan Government and the West German company in charge of construction that the plant has no military character, the U.S. special services, citing photographs taken from space, continue to maintain that the plant will produce chemical weapons.

According to the CBS television company the United States has prepared a plan for attacking the plant. Furthermore, in addition to the U.S. naval forces permanently stationed in the Mediterranean, the Pentagon has dispatched to the region a substantial naval unit of 12 vessels, lead by the "Theodore Roosevelt" aircraft carrier.

The concentration of such a great military presence along the Libyan coast electrified the already strained relations, and the explosion soon occurred. On 4 January "Tomcat" F-14 fighters of the [John F.] "Kennedy" aircraft carrier shot down 2 Libyan fighters over international waters.

The immediate negative reaction and assessment of the event throughout the world prevented the spark from turning into a major fire; however, the danger remains because of the well-known style of the Pentagon generals, who rely first of all on force.

Objectively speaking, both sides can justify the incident. However, it again demonstrated that the presence of substantial military units in any part of the world has never calmed any situation, but instead has always increased tension. Let us not forget the plane that was shot down by U.S. vessels in the Persian Gulf, and the consequences of that incident. After all, it is logical to ask ourselves what are the U. S. combat vessels doing so far away from the U. S. coast, and are they really guaranteeing stability in that part of the world?

Atanasov, Balev, Ovcharov Meet U.S. Senators
*AU1001210489 Sofia BTA in English
2018 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today the U. S. Senators Mr. Mark Hatfield and Mr. James McClure.

Mr. Atanasov acquainted the guests with the changes underway in all spheres of life in Bulgaria. Special attention was paid to the new approaches for improvement of the economic activity, to the structural changes in the economy. The role and place of state at the present stage for the realization of the restructuring was pointed out, as well as the importance of the forthcoming changes in the legislative system. All these processes will favour the activation of the cooperation in a broad international aspect, the West European states and the USA included.

The talk focused on the relations between Bulgaria and the United States of America. The two sides discussed the opportunities for broadening of the relations in the sphere of trade, economy and the techno-scientific sphere.

The U. S. Senators Mr. Mark Hatfield and Mr. James McClure, visited this country on January 9 and January 10.

They had a meeting with Mr. Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission with the National Assembly, and with Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs they had a meeting with Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

During the talks the U. S. guests were informed in detail of the development of restructuring in Bulgaria, of the peaceful foreign policy of Bulgaria in the Balkans and of the initiatives for strengthening of peace and cooperation between the Balkan states. The sides discussed the condition and prospects for the development of the relations between Bulgaria and the USA on the basis of the restructuring in Bulgaria and the improvement of the international situation.

Zhivkov Message to Paris Conference Published
*AU0901140689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 7 Jan 89 p 1*

[BTA report: "Without Weapons and Violence"—"Message from Todor Zhivkov, Chairman of the State Council, to the Chairman of the Conference of the Geneva Protocol Signatory States, and of Other Interested Countries"]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent the following message to the chairman of the Paris conference of signatory states of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and of other interested countries

Mr Chairman, I have the honorable task to greet you and all participants in the conference on behalf of the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to wish you fruitful work.

Your conference is taking place at a time of promising, positive changes in international life. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the broad

Bulgarian public consider this Paris forum as a confirmation of the international public's resolve to ban the use of chemical weapons forever.

The world is about to accomplish a task of unprecedented significance and scope—the task of physically destroying an entire class of mass destruction weapons, namely chemical weapons, and of eliminating the use of these weapons once for all. This task conforms with the requirements of our epoch, which is both complicated and demands a great sense of responsibility. This task is in accordance with new political thinking in the conditions of the nuclear-missile century. The banning of chemical weapons would be a considerable contribution to mankind's noble efforts toward a world free of weapons and violence. It is likely to set free considerable resources for the real transition from a rearmament to a disarmament economy.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which over several years consistently and perseveringly contributed to the cause of chemical disarmament, both at the disarmament conference and within the framework of the United Nations, will continue to be active and work for this important sphere of international relations. Our country will continue to devote its efforts to the implementation of the initiative of turning the Balkans into a zone free of chemical weapons, which we consider as a new step toward increasing mutual confidence in the Balkans and in Europe, as well as toward the global solution of these weapons.

I would like to express my confidence that this forum will contribute to the consolidation of the international order of banning chemical weapons and will make a valuable contribution to the prompt signing of an international convention on banning the development, production, and accumulation of chemical weapons, and on the destruction of their arsenals.

CEMA Customs Dues, Duties Increases Deplored
AU0501200989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
4 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Pavel Pisarev, "TRUD foreign policy commentator": "Customs Problems"]

[Text] A new customs system, primarily affecting tourists has been introduced in Poland. As announced by PAP, customs dues and duties on goods that are exported from the country have increased by an average of 50-300 percent. Customs dues and duties on shoes and clothes have increased 300 percent; leather goods, carpets, cosmetics, and china by 200 percent. Goods whose total value exceeds Z20,000, and each separate article whose value exceeds Z10,000 are subject to customs dues and duties.

On Sunday the USSR Government also announced that the export from the Soviet Union of television sets, home refrigerators, automatic washing machines, sewing

machines, children's clothes and shoes, coffee, and salmon and sturgeon caviar, is banned beginning on 1 February [year not given] until the end of 1990. Many goods, such as certain electrical appliances, cameras, and spare parts for cars, will be subject to customs dues and duties from 20-100 percent of their retail price.

Thus events came to full circle, because a while ago the GDR erected a defense barrier for its goods—shoes, foodstuffs, and children's and baby clothes, and afterward expanded this list. Recently the CSSR introduced new rules, according to which nothing can be exported from the country. This directly affected Poles working in the CSSR, who were surprised by the change in the conditions under which their contracts had been signed. Almost 2 months ago, Bulgaria also adopted a new customs regime. Export dues and duties were increased by 20-300 percent, while the export of foodstuffs and many industrial goods was banned. Thus, the effect of previous permits for tourists to travel with significant amounts of money, purchased from their national banks, has been limited in practice. For the time being, only Hungary preserves a relatively liberal customs regime for its own citizens and foreigners.

Taken together, these facts form a specific line.

Nobody denies the right of every state to regulate its market problems through customs regulations. The mass purchases of tourists violate the commodity balance. This especially applies to the countries typically visited by tourists, in which the annual number of tourists is close to the number of their own citizens. Millions and millions of tourists are purchasing goods—not just the regular souvenirs like Bulgarian ceramics; wooden and plastic Svejks; Russian, Polish, and German dolls; and Russian sailor-puppets. Naturally, some tourists are purchasing goods that they cannot find in their own countries, or goods that are cheaper in the country they are visiting. This is a normal phenomenon. It hardly is a secret that many goods cannot be found in most socialist markets. Some goods can be found and others are simply not there. Furthermore, the quality of goods varies from one country to another. Shortage is the economic sickness of the market, and to this point no one has been immune to it. This sickness appears suddenly, engulfs everyone, and lasts for a long period of time. However, its temperature is not very high, and is measured by the quality of the goods.

The difference in the prices between the various countries is, as I already mentioned, the other reason for the tourists' purchases. A set of bed sheets costs less in the USSR, GDR, and CSSR, than in Bulgaria and Poland. On the other hand, other goods, such as wool fabrics, cost less in Bulgaria.

The mass purchase of goods in the domestic markets by foreign tourists is considered by certain economic figures as export of national revenue. This is particularly the case when prices are low because of state subsidies on the

basis of the national social policy or the country's standard of living. Frequently, goods that have been acquired with foreign currency, including convertible currency, in order to improve the goods' variety and quality, are purchased by tourists.

The economic organizations in charge of supply in the various countries will be satisfied—high walls have been erected around the markets, the goods cannot jump over, and tension will subside, albeit only to a small degree. However, there is no case in which everybody is happy. What will the reaction of the tourist organizations be? We all know that people do not travel abroad only to be able to see Vavel or the St Basilus Cathedral, to stroll the Unten Den Linden, or to visit the Rila Monastery or Golden Prague. Even Uncle Ganyo did not go to Prague at the time just to visit Jirecek. Otherwise why did he carry vials of attar of rose? [referring to the famous Bulgarian novel "Bay Ganyo" or "Uncle Ganyo" by Aleko Konstantinov, written at the turn of the century, describing the trip to Europe of a Bulgarian merchant of attar of rose. One event described in the book is Bay Ganyo's meeting in Prague with Prof Jirecek, a noted scholar of Bulgarian studies].

"Shopping tourism" is one of the basic forms of modern tourism. Do we not stand to lose what we gained from preserving some of the goods for the domestic market, through receiving less income from tourism? Almost 60 percent of the income from modern tourism is a result of the so-called additional services, in which these purchases occupy a major place.

Since these measures are being introduced now, and they have not existed in the past, let us hope that they will only be temporary measures. The question is, how long will they exist? In addition, will they not cancel each other out since so many countries have introduced them? Tourists used to purchase goods, but they also imported goods. Now that travel has increased, we will restrict the tourists in a way, not because of mutual relations that have deteriorated, but because of the specific circumstances. An ancient tradition exists according to which people returning from trips abroad bear gifts for their relatives. Furthermore, upon their return home, tourists like to show modern things they have bought, or exchange gifts with their friends abroad.

Some have difficulty in adjusting to the new situation. Some think like the Polish journalist Carol Szyndzielorz, who said that "digging trenches on both sides of the border resembles a customs war." Even Jerzy Urban, spokesman for the government, said that "when such measures are adopted the citizens must be warned in advance."

The introduction of the new customs regulations will have a certain effect on the internal market situation and will restrict the desire to engage in speculation. However, a substantial change can be achieved only if production of goods increases and services are improved. It is to be

expected that the economic reforms that have been introduced everywhere will produce real results. Who will care what tourists are purchasing if there is an abundance of goods? On the contrary, such purchases will be welcomed, because they represent retail-price export, an exceptionally profitable economic activity. So far, the socialist "common market" exists only in the sphere of information; everybody knows what goods are sold, where they are sold, and how much they cost. A real common market such as the EEC is yet to be formed. Thus, we will wait for the time when the active movement of people, goods, services, and capital also develops among the CEMA member countries.

Turkey Accused of Destroying Church Property

AU1101102489 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
4 Jan 89 p 13

[Lyubomir Orlinov article: "This Is To No One's Benefit—"Attempts Against Bulgarian Cultural-Historic Monuments in Turkey"]

[Text] When the great powers discussed the fate of the Ottoman Empire and arrived at the Berlin Treaty, the question of borders was, of course, the basic issue. Nevertheless, it was not only a question of borders. That is because within the borders of the former empire, established according to agreements in those days, and later, cultural treasures of different nationalities still existed. These treasures included various institutions—churches, monasteries, schools, libraries, charity homes, and hospitals. . . .

In addition, their activities were subjected to rules consented to by the Ottoman Empire and confirmed by respective laws and instructions.

The Bulgarian Exarchate was legally established in Constantinople on 23 February 1870. According to the sultan's decree, the Exarchate was established as an imperial institution responsible for religious and social functions in all Bulgarian Orthodox Church communities within the borders of the Ottoman territories.

Following 1878, on the basis of the Berlin Treaty, and after additional consultations between Count Ignatiev and the Grand Vizier, which came about with the assistance of the great powers, the Exarchate was granted the status of an official Ottoman and Bulgarian institution because, from a canonical point of view, it was uniform and indivisible. Since that date and to this day, Bulgaria has supported this institution.

The activities of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Turkey at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were closely linked with the name of the Exarch Yosif. This great patriot was the chief mediator on behalf of the Bulgarian Exarchate in the Ottoman Empire in connection with the purchase of land and the construction of buildings for prayer and religious rituals,

for cultural-educational activities, for charity, administrative services, and others. The financial means for these activities were actually provided by the Bulgarian population, by donations of Bulgarian patriots, and, following the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 1878, they were officially provided by this reborn state. Approximately 50 Bulgarian monuments and various types of institutions for the cultural, education, and religious needs of Bulgarian Christians were built with these resources.

This introductory remark is dictated by historical facts, which unequivocally speak the truth, because we are now confronted with a situation in which the Turkish authorities are expropriating the property of the Bulgarian Exarchate in the Republic of Turkey, an act that is totally unjustified from all legal, political, and humanitarian points of view. The formal argument—which is actually in contradiction with the agreements signed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century—claims that Exarch Yosip was allegedly a private citizen living in Turkey, whose property, following his death in 1915, had to be transferred to the Turkish state. This is not true, because Exarch Yosip, in all his activities, was actually the legitimate and legal representative of the Bulgarian people, supported by patriotic Bulgarian citizens and by the Bulgarian state. The People's Republic of Bulgaria still pursues this policy today. If nearly 40 of the 50 existing monuments belonging to Bulgarian Christians in Turkey have been confiscated, destroyed, or expropriated so far, this is hardly to the benefit of the desired and necessary good-neighborly Balkan cooperation.

As a matter of fact, our remarks are prompted by the ban imposed by the Turkish authorities in Istanbul on 30 October 1988 on holding religious services in the St. Panteleymon chapel at the Bulgarian hospital, which is named after Evlogi Georgiev, the great Bulgarian scholar and philanthropist, and was confiscated by the Turkish authorities in July 1988. The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church submitted protest notes to various institutions, including the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, insisting that this ban be lifted.

This was a particularly deplorable and antihumanitarian decision, since the hospital treats patients of all nationalities.

It is also paradoxical that we are confronted with such action at a time when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the UN Human Rights Charter.

Last, but not least, it is strange that this happens following the Belgrade meeting of foreign affairs ministers from Balkan countries held in February 1988, at which the intention of practicing good-neighborly relations and peace in our area was categorically expressed. Who benefits and who loses from such actions? The theft of the Bulgarian Exarchate's properties is a fact. Nevertheless, I think that this is not to anyone's benefit.

BCP Conveys Message to West German Communists
AU0901162289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Jan 89 pp 1,6

[Greetings Message from the BCP Central Committee to the Ninth Congress of the German Communist Party: "For the Sake of Peace and Progress"]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the Ninth Congress of the German Communist Party [DKP]:

Esteemed comrades, please accept the sincere and friendly greetings of the BCP Central Committee and our best wishes for the successful and fruitful work of the Ninth DKP Congress.

Your congress coincides with the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist Party of Germany. On the occasion of this solemn moment for all Communists and working people in the FRG, we would like to express our respect for the DKP, which is the worthy and loyal successor and continuer of the revolutionary traditions of the German workers movement on FRG territory. The Bulgarian Communists are in solidarity with the consistent struggle waged by the DKP for peace, disarmament, and security; for a democratic change in the entire socioeconomic life of the country; with the struggle against unemployment, for social justice, for environmental protection; and to defend the interests of youths, women, and all working people.

The realities of the nuclear century and scientific-technical revolution confront all political and social forces and all mankind with complicated and crucial life-and-death problems. Their solution requires that we, the Communists, in remaining loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, should further develop and apply these principles, that we should boldly search for new approaches and methods that conform to present-day reality.

The BCP devotes indefatigable efforts to the renewal of Communist theory and practice. We are now implementing the Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria, adopted in 1987, which represents our long-term strategic line for the construction of an even more vital, dynamic, and attractive socialist society. At the recently held BCP Central Committee plenum, we declared our resolve to advance in expanding the restructuring process, to eliminate our shortcomings and weaknesses, to search for and test nontraditional, practical approaches for the implementation of the party's and the people's aspirations.

It is our goal, on the basis of the achievements of scientific-technical progress and of the comprehensive development of socialist democracy, to transform Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized state, which should worthily meet the challenges of the 21st century.

The present innovative processes taking place in the USSR, Bulgaria, and other socialist countries, which are proceeding according to the national specific features and traditions of the respective countries, are of great importance not only for our peoples and states, but for all mankind, for the consolidation of the positive changes which have occurred in international relations on the basis of new political thinking.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria welcome these changes and support all efforts aimed at the consolidation of the international atmosphere, at the construction of a world free of wars, a world of steady material and cultural progress.

Dear comrades, with all our hearts we wish your ninth congress to become an important stage in strengthening the prestige and influence of the DKP, in rallying all progressive and democratic forces in your country.

The relations of solidarity and cooperation between the BCP and the DKP are based on great traditions. We express our confidence that these relations, which we greatly cherish, will further develop in the interest of both our parties, for the sake of peace and social progress.

Decree on 1989 Plan, Budget Outlined
AU1001122989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue 2 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Decree No 1837 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, dated 30 December 1988. The decree releases Nacho Aleksiev Nachev from the post of first deputy minister of national education.

—Extract from Decree No 41 of the Council of Ministers of 23 December 1988 on the Uniform State Plan for the Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development and the State Budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1989. The decree grants the executive committees of the municipal people's councils the following rights: to construct, over and above the maximum limit of capital investments fixed for them, installations connected with resolving important social problems in centers of population, using their own additionally collected means and by economic methods; and to allocate funds toward equipping kindergartens, hospital buildings, and schools in accordance with the official regulations established for this purpose.

The Bulgarian National Bank is instructed not to permit, from 1 January 1989, credit payments to the working capital accounts of enterprises that failed to adopt their 1989 Plan before 31 December 1988, or to the accounts of economic councils of trusts that have failed to allocate to the enterprises the state orders approved for the enterprises; and to charge interest on credit for working capital needed to fulfill the above state orders at a discount of 1 percent below the agreed interest rate. Other credits for working capital are subject to interest with a penalty surcharge of 2 percent, as long as the state orders have not been adopted and completely agreed upon in the economic organizations.

It is prohibited to conclude contracts for the hire of workers from other countries that will be paid for through the export of raw materials, other materials, and consumer goods that are in short supply.

The following is prohibited: the export of electrolytic copper and intermediate copper products, as well as of secondary raw materials of all kinds; and the replacement of coal-fired fuel installations with liquid fuels or natural gas.

In the case of the production of goods and the performance of services by individual producers, small production collectives, and cooperatives, for which Bulgarian state standards or industrial standards are not required and for which no prices have been fixed or registered, technical specifications that also specify the price of the commodity or service are to be drafted.

The executive committees of the municipal people's councils, within the framework of the means provided in their budgets for social assistance, and the economic organizations, from their consumption funds, may pay up to 50 percent of the cost of medicines to citizens with monthly family incomes of less than 100 leva per head, while strictly ensuring that these expenditures are appropriate.

The executive committees of the municipal people's councils are instructed to take measures to bring the working hours at establishments providing services into line with the free time of the population, on both work and rest days.

A number of other changes are also made to other normative acts.

Libya Called 'Victim' of U.S. in Skirmish
AU1001123289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Jan 89 p 7

[Marek Dobrovolny article in the "A Note" column: "Another Incident"]

[Text] The seeming cause of the latest conflict in the Mediterranean is allegedly the chemical factory in Al-Rabitah, Libya, about 60 km from the capital of Tripoli. According to the U.S. Government, a complex for the manufacture of chemical weapons is being built there. Despite the fact that the highest Libyan representative, Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi, offered the United States a chance to make an on-site inspection so that it could convince itself of the harmlessness of the petrochemical complex, it was no use.

The factory in Al-Rabitah should not be blamed for anything. It is only a pretext to serve the further escalation of American pressure on Libya. Its independent policy obviously causes discomfort to the Washington government.

Thus, lately the Mediterranean has again become a big exercise area for American vessels equipped with the most modern military technology. More and more aircraft are taking off daily from the aircraft carrier "John F. Kennedy" to demonstrate the American military presence. The tension in the region has been increasing. The danger of a conflict is greater from one day to another. It really occurred on Wednesday [4 January] morning. American F-14 fighter planes shot down two Libyan aircraft over territorial waters.

Downing aircraft in international airspace is unpardonable, whether the machines are military or civilian, as was the case several months ago when a missile fired by the American frigate "Vincennes" destroyed an Iranian civilian aircraft. Again, the Pentagon will seek various reasons for its military decision. But this time as well, a fact will remain a fact: The victim did not provoke the incident.

U.S. Account Questioned
AU1101155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
9 Jan 89 p 6

[Jan Kovarik in the "A Note" column: "Confession"]

[Text] The first American version of the downing of 2 Libyan military aircraft over international waters in the Mediterranean claimed that, allegedly, the Libyan pilots switched on their attack radars. By doing this, according to that version, the American pilots felt they were under attack and therefore fired air-to-air missiles at the Libyan aircraft.

Now a report has come from Washington, which proves the original American argument to be a falsehood: On Thursday [5 January] a Pentagon press spokesman

admitted that the pilots had had no signals on their instruments which would attest to the opponents' aircraft switching on their attack radars.... Thus, with his statement on Thursday, the Pentagon spokesman actually confirmed that evidence of the American fighter planes being attacked simply does not exist. Therefore, a new "substantiation" was invented: that the Libyan aircraft were armed with missiles and the Americans, "on a routine reconnaissance flight," at one moment "felt threatened" and therefore used weapons.

According to this logic, it is apparently enough for a soldier to "feel threatened," and he is entitled to use weapons even in international airspace, just as was the case last year with an Iranian civil airliner, which threatened no one.

Thus, there is no doubt about the responsibility of soldiers. But are only military persons to blame for the incident in the vicinity of Libya? One has to recall in what atmosphere American forces in the Mediterranean serve. First, President Reagan threatened to intervene against an alleged Libyan plant for chemical weapons and afterwards announced that he had consulted with the NATO allies on "punishing Libya." To the explanation provided by Libyans about the chemical plant, the United States replied that the explanation "cannot be believed." If we add to this the previous anti-Libyan campaign, there is no doubt that in such a psychological atmosphere an incident like the one that took place will ultimately occur.

If the American units abroad do not draw the appropriate conclusions from the incident, the possibility of another conflict cannot be excluded in the future, a conflict with perhaps even graver consequences. By the way, 13 American naval vessels heading for the Mediterranean, led by the most modern aircraft carrier "Roosevelt," and several thousand marine infantry troops, demonstrating their strength near the Libyan coast, can in no case be regarded as a "friendly visit."

Pan Am Crash Blamed on London Security Measures
AU1001160489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
31 Dec 88 p 5

[Karol Turan commentary in the "Foreign-Political Note" column: "Searching for Answers With Invectives"]

[Text] The investigators' statement that the Pan Am crash over southwestern Scotland was caused by explosives has set off an intensive search for the perpetrators of this crime. It was only due to a coincidence—the 30-minute delay in take-off from London—that the investigating commission was able to gather the debris and look for the cause of the crash. Had the aircraft exploded over the ocean, as the perpetrators had obviously planned, it would have been almost impossible to find all the fragments.

However, the investigators are now confronted with a great many questions. Was it an act of a deranged individual or of some terrorist organization? And what was the motive? Understandably, these questions can be answered in many ways, and the answers can be serious or malicious, plausible or politically slanted. Terrorism must be condemned, especially if innocent people die in the process. It is supremely irresponsible to accuse people or organizations, and even states, of conspiracy and involvement in this aircraft disaster. The easiest way is to suspect political opponents, as some people are trying to do in the present case. Suspicion has already turned to Iran, and invectives are being voiced against Czechoslovakia, the country from which the explosive is alleged to have come; and the latest reports say that some radical Palestinian organizations have surfaced, and that the traces allegedly lead to Libya.

Just how dangerous it is to suspect someone just because it suits some political concept is shown by the example of the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque, attributed to Libya—later it became clear that Libya had nothing to do with it, but nobody could rectify the retaliatory American bombing of that country, during which hundreds of innocent people perished. The search for a scapegoat for an act of terrorism without absolutely reliable evidence is simply an act of criminally shifting one's own responsibility onto somebody else in an effort to win political capital. This crime is as bad as the act of terrorism itself.

Unsubstantiated suspicions are dangerous in that they also provoke various psychopaths, but also groups with special interests, to make anonymous telephone calls which complicate the investigation or divert it from clues that could lead in the right direction. According to American sources, the ill-fated Boeing plane was a first-generation aircraft, i.e. about 20 years old. Last year it underwent a general overhaul. One spoke of material fatigue. The investigation of such a tragedy must be based on serious principles, and only verified data should reach the public.

One would do far better to find out how the bomb could get onto the aircraft in spite of current airport security measures. For instance, at Frankfurt airport the only luggage loaded is that which passengers identify as their own. True, we still have no protection against the "kamikazes," i.e. passengers who would take a bomb in their cabin luggage on a plane they themselves are going to board. It is only now that the West is beginning to speak of a "magic" luggage screener which will allegedly detect explosives with absolute certainty. It x-rays the luggage with neutrons, which "pass" through everything. It is obvious that London neglected to take appropriate measures when checking the luggage.

Jakes Addresses Draft Constitution Commission
LD1001134389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1130 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The CPCZ and National Front commission for the drafting of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic constitution met in its first session in Prague today.

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the National Front Central Committee and chairman of the commission of the Party and the National Front for the drafting of the new Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Constitution, spoke about the main tasks in drafting this basic law of our state and about the progress of work on the new constitution.

He recalled that the inspiration for the drafting of the new Czechoslovak constitution was given by the 17th CPCZ Congress. He stressed that we are drafting it in a period in which we have begun the implementation of serious steps toward deep restructuring in our society.

He also gave detailed principles from which the work on the drafting of this basic law of our state will proceed. He stressed the fact that the new constitution would confirm socialism as our country's social system. It will strengthen the legal position of a citizen in the state and society, will enrich his rights and freedoms, will define his duties, and will further rationally develop the Czechoslovak Federation. It will anchor, in legal terms, principles of the economic and social restructuring, as well as broad democratization and glasnost, Comrade Milos Jakes said.

The session was attended by Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the republic, who is a member of the commission. The commission is comprised of other representatives of the CPCZ and the socialist state, leading representatives of other political parties and social organizations of the National Front, representatives of workers' collectives from various spheres of our national economy, scientists, artists, church representatives, youth representatives, and sportsmen.

The first to speak in the discussion was Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. On behalf of the party, he stated his support for the proposals for drafting the new Czechoslovak constitution and the opening address by Comrade Milos Jakes. He also spoke in favor of a greater role for the National Front in the basic law of our state. He stressed the fact that the drafting of the constitution has to be backed by a sound analysis of the past and the present development, and lean on our constitutional traditions and experiences of other socialist countries.

Marian Calfa, minister of the federal government, reported on the activity of the working group for the drafting of the new constitution. He said that a number of scientific establishments and state institutions have

been engaged in the preparatory work on this fundamental document. He stressed that the adoption of the new constitution would result in changes in the legal rules, which have to be in harmony with this, our basic law of state.

Defines Goals of Constitution

*LD1001220089 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front, at the 10 January session of the party and National Front commission for drafting the new CSSR constitution in Prague—recorded]

[Text] We are meeting at the first session of the CPCZ and National Front commission for preparing the new CSSR Constitution in order to define the policy for drafting this fundamental law of our socialist state. Allow me to take this opportunity on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, and also on behalf of all of you present to wish Comrade Husak, president of the Republic, who is 76 today, many successes in his responsible work in the leadership of the CPCZ and as head of state, to wish him good health and highly praise his present activity for the benefit of the people of our country and for the benefit of peace. [applause]

Working out the new CSSR constitution is a move initiated at the 17th CPCZ Congress. We are approaching its preparation at a time when we have started taking significant steps toward a profound restructuring of our society. The program of this restructuring is comprehensive. It concerns not only the national economy and rebuilding the economic mechanism, but the spheres of social and state life as well. In substance, it involves the broad democratization of society and our entire political system, aimed at the full development and utilization of the material and spiritual potential of socialism, uplifting it to a new, qualitatively higher level and strengthening the position of people as the true governors and managers of their country. It has been stressed several times that economic and social restructuring means developing the great advantages which our people won during victorious February 1948 and during the entire period of building socialism. We are basing it on our conditions, traditions, and needs. At the same time we are carefully watching the experiences of the other socialist countries. The revolutionary guidelines and policies of the CPSU in implementing a comprehensive restructuring in Soviet society has been a particularly great inspiration to us. Our society, too, is undergoing considerable upheaval at the moment. Experience shows that this involves a great struggle connected with the need to master new experiences which we are facing at the present time of progress, as well as resolutely overcoming all that is obsolete and inflexible and hinders our progress. It is particularly urgent that we react appropriately to the scientific-technical revolution that is under

way. It is one of the most basic prerequisites for achieving the aims which we have set. To implement economic and social restructuring we must overcome many difficulties and obstacles. We must envisage various conflicts in the process. However, this must not make us put off implementing the designs which have been mapped out. It is the only realistic way to inject the desirable dynamism into the development of our society in the interest of further increasing the living and cultural standards of the peoples so that the socialist system can manifest its advantages more fully. The increase in Socialist Czechoslovakia's contribution to reinforcing the positions and the prestige of socialism on an international scale, and the fight for peace and progress in the world will depend on it. To put it briefly, all these are important facts which will undoubtedly greatly influence the approach to the preparation of the new constitution, which is the basic law of the state, the norm of the highest legal force, and the base for the entire legal system.

This will be extensive and highly responsible work, during which we must give ourselves a clear answer to the question of what the new constitution, as a constitution of the socialist type, should be based upon. The answer is quite clear—above all, on the sovereignty and power of the peoples; on the sovereignty and equality of the nations; on respect for the rights of nationalities living in our state, and on deep internationalism and humanism. It must confirm and secure the revolutionary achievements of the peoples which they accomplished after liberation and since the victorious February in 1948 up to this point.

Accordingly, from the viewpoint of the current revolutionary changes, it ought to legally anchor the principles of economic and social restructuring, of broad democratization, and the flow of public information. The new constitution must aim at strengthening socialist democracy as the basic direction of development for the Czechoslovak state. It will also express the mutual dependence and contingency of policy, economics, and culture as the prerequisites for reinforcing social certainties and the healthy development of our socialist society.

The constitution will confirm socialism as the political system of our country, will reinforce the legal position of the citizen in the state and society, will enrich his rights and liberties and will also define his duties. It will develop further the Czechoslovak Federation in a rational way. It will more precisely define the system and the principles of the organization and activity of state bodies and their mutual relations.

It will also redefine the position and the role of the national committees as the bodies of people's power and administration. It will develop the self-governing principles of their activity. It will also confirm our foreign political orientation. The important thing is to put into

our new constitution everything that proved itself worthwhile in our earlier constitutions and eliminate everything that does not help us in the current conditions of moving forward, everything that is obsolete.

While working on the new constitution we cannot forget the experience of the other fraternal socialist countries, in particular the USSR. One of our key sources of knowledge in the creation of our socialist constitutions has been the constitutional development in the USSR. There have been three Constitutions in force in the 70-year history of our Republic. After the foundation of the Czechoslovak republic in 1920, the first was adopted, a bourgeois-democratic one. The other two Constitutions, the 9 May 1948 and the 1960 Constitutions, were socialist. Of great importance for establishing the power of the working people, headed by the working class, was the adoption of the Kosice government program on 5 April 1945. That was one of the most important documents of our renewed state. That program of the first government of the National Front, which made use of the revolutionary acts of the Slovak national uprising, created the key internal and external prerequisites for carrying out deep revolutionary people's democratic changes in our homeland. It considerably influenced the newborn people's democratic constitutional order. It set up national committees as a base for the entire state administration. It recognized the individuality of the Slovak nation, the Slovak national bodies, and their authority. It formulated the tasks of the state and of organizations and the way to manage the economy as well as our foreign policy, which leans on the friendship and alliance with the USSR.

After the CPCZ victory in the elections for the National Assembly in 1946, the new government prepared a program of construction which led to the reinforcement and further development of our people's democratic character.

The February victory of the working people fully opened the way toward socialist changes in our country and enabled us to adopt a qualitatively new type of constitution, the 9 May Constitution. This Constitution became an important political and legal document for the period of building the foundations of socialism in our country. It was also the starting point for the formation of the socialist legal rules.

The changes that took place in Czechoslovakia in the period 1948-60 confirmed the correctness of the general line of the construction of socialism set by the ninth party congress in 1949. Man's exploitation of man was removed in principle; socialist production relations prevailed; a new class structure of society emerged; industrial production and labor productivity in industry increased; the leveling of cultural and economic differences between the Czech lands and Slovakia made progress; and the collectivization of agriculture was

completed. All this signified the building of the foundations of socialism in our country. A sequel to these changes and their expression was the new CSSR Constitution adopted in 1960.

At the same time it is necessary to admit honestly that it was marked by an overestimate of the successes achieved in social development. It did not even create the necessary conditions for the development of equal relations of our nations, Czechs and Slovaks. On the contrary, it slowed them down, and in some aspects it meant a step back. This is why the further development of our society required these relations to be resolved. This was carried out by the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation adopted in 1968, and by other constitutional laws which supplemented and amended the Constitution.

The present Czechoslovak Constitution is supplemented by a number of constitutional laws. By this dispersion of the regulative and ideological function of the basic law, its cohesion and clarity have been reduced. By drafting a new constitution we will have again a single basic law of the state. This is far from the only reason that has led to the commencement of work on drafting the new constitution. The task is for the new constitution to express the stage of development that the state and society have achieved, to anchor the basic changes that have taken place since the adoption of the present Constitution and the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, to create constitutional foundations for the restructuring which is taking place, and to play a worthy role as an active factor in the further development of the Czechoslovak statehood of our socialist society.

What should be the starting point for drafting the new constitution? If we are stressing the need for constitutional continuity, this should be the utilization of all that has been well tested in constitutional history and that should be used in the future as well. From the viewpoint of the new constitution, there will be the expression of the people's sovereignty as the only source of power and the principle that state power is implemented by the people via representative bodies, above all.

This means that it should be firmly established in the new constitution that in this period of the development of society and state representative democracy remains the main form of socialist democracy. The new constitution should thus strengthen the position and the authority of representative bodies as a political foundation of the socialist state and as a backbone of the socialist state mechanism. It should enhance their inspection functions in relation to other state bodies, first and foremost to the executive bodies of state power. It should also enrich representative democracy in those elements that deepen it; for example, public discussions on the drafts of important bills or on other important proposed measures and the creation of guarantees for a broad public level of information. Widening the people's

participation in administration and management in connection with the restructuring and democratization of the life of society will probably require the consideration of a constitutional amendment of direct democracy; for example, in the form of a referendum, in which, at the proposal of representative bodies, the citizens would decide on some important issues by voting directly.

In our political system a vital position is held by the National Front, which was born in the struggle for national liberation and which showed it was capable of surviving the entire period of socialist construction. We do not consider it only an organizational form of connection between political parties, social organizations, or interest associations. The National Front embodies the class union of workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and other groups of the working people; it is the political union between Communists and members of other political parties and citizens with no political allegiance; it is an internationalist union between our two fraternal peoples—the Czechs and the Slovaks—and the nationalities living in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Because of this nature, it is also an independent actor in the political system, to which are given important tasks in construction, activity of the state, and in the development of society. It represents an experienced platform which enables citizens to participate broadly in administration and management, democratic expression, and the implementation and unification of their interests and views. It fulfills an important mission in setting up representative bodies and other state bodies, and it should to a much greater extent contribute to drawing up important decisions which concern the life of people and all society.

At the same time, the National Front must efficiently contribute to developing the activity of organizations united within it, toward strengthening their independence and initiative. Such a comprehensive position by the National Front will enrich our socialist democracy. The new constitution should, from the point of view of the needs of the current era, spell out more precisely the positions and roles of political parties, social organizations, and citizen interest associations so that it will express the varied interests of citizens and create sufficient conditions to fulfill their rights and needs, toward developing joint activity and toward participation in tackling state and social affairs.

It turns out that it is correct to create sufficient space for activity and decisionmaking by state organs to be based on the entire spectrum of views and interests expressed by political parties, social and interest organizations, labor collectives, and citizens of our country. The constitution should express the socialist pluralism and views and interests for which we are creating the necessary political space, as well as the legal framework. This, however, does not mean that we can allow any room for interests to achieve aims which contradict socialism. For this purpose, the new constitution must include a safeguard by stipulating reliable protection for the socialist social system.

An inseparable pivotal part of the constitutional political system is expression of the principle of the leading role of the CPCZ as the political vanguard of society. When preparing the new constitution, we must also consider whether or not the constitution should directly express both the links between the party and the people and all the components of the political system, as well as the obligation of the party and its organs to the constitution and the legal system. Historical experience teaches that the way the party implements its leading role—ensuring full adherence to the constitutional position by all the components in the political system—the way it influences state organs, organizations, and citizens so that they may exercise their constitutional and legal rights, exercise their rights and carry out their duties, determines to a certain extent the atmosphere in society, the quality of activity by state organs, and the practical implementation of citizens' rights and duties.

Considerable attention will have to be paid to the constitutional expression of the economic foundations of socialism, as well as the individual forms of socialist ownership in their variability and development. The economic basis of the socialist society is and will be socialist ownership of the means of production. The constitutions of the fraternal socialist countries refer to ownership by all the people—the entire society—whose subject is the socialist state as the representative of all the people: cooperative ownership, communal ownership—that is of villages and towns—as well as ownership by individual persons, private property, and other means of ownership.

We must generalize the experience, while realizing that a number of notions, for example, personal and private property, have acquired a new meaning in socialism. Socialist societies are not and cannot be connected with exploitation. These forms may find, within the limits stipulated by the law, their application in satisfying the needs of the population. It turns out that varied forms of socialist ownership strengthen the relations of the working people and citizens toward the means of production, their consciousness as true owners and managers. It gives rise to and develops economic thinking and supports socialist enterprise and honest high-quality work. During the introduction of cooperatives, our country had one of the most honored places in Europe.

However, cooperatives represent only 10 percent of national income at the moment. The new laws adopted in this field create new perspectives for the cooperative movement regarding its social and economic roles. We must create more scope and provide better economic conditions and stronger political support for cooperative enterprises. This is also valid for other structures that better satisfy the needs of citizens, particularly in the service sector. Today we are facing the problem of how to more fully implement the principles of socialist ownership, to overcome the weakening relationship between working people and the means of production, and how to connect personal interests with the needs of the society

more closely. Where a person cannot realistically carry out his duties as manager, the environment for stimulating high achievement, growth in productivity and the quality of work, as well as the protection of social ownership cannot exist. That is why in the economic sphere it is necessary to create sufficient space to implement socialist self-administration, both in the production and territorial sectors.

This is why today the idea of self-administration by working people is being newly formulated—it links work with management, rights with responsibility, and initiative with control. Our national economy is a united national economic unit which develops on the basis of the economic and social development plan, the creation and the contents of which must proceed from the principles involved in restructuring the economic mechanism, from respect for its new quality, based on the new mission of central organs; and from the use of economic instruments of management and the socialist enterprising approach of the entire financial autonomy sphere, which is made possible by the Law on State Enterprise.

Setting out the policy of the socialist state is an integral part of the socialist constitution. It should express its basic functions and tasks not only in the social sphere, in the sphere of protecting and preserving the environment and the scientific and cultural development of the socialist way of life, but also in the spheres of international relations, defense, and the security of the state. In the present constitution the principles of the policy of the socialist state are not set out to such an extent. The constitution should proceed from the principles of socialist internationalism and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It should unambiguously express our firm membership among socialist countries and the development of alliance, friendship, and all-round cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal states as the basis of our foreign policy. It should anchor the peaceful policy of our country, reject war as a method of solving differences between states, and support all that leads toward the preservation of peace and the development of constructive and equal international cooperation. It should also express the fact that the CSSR respects and honorably fulfills the universally recognized principles and norms of international law. On the whole, by the constitutional definition of principles of state policy, it is necessary to conclude that this means not only setting out the tasks of state organs, but also defining the basic goals toward which the socialist state is striving.

The key question in every constitution is the definition of state-citizen relations and the anchoring of basic rights, freedoms, and obligations of citizens. These relations should be based on the equality of citizens, on the unity between rights and obligations, and on the harmony of basic interests of individuals and society. We proceed from the fact that a man is the main value of

socialism and the basic task is care for his general development, education, and health, and creating the conditions for him to achieve these himself.

The socialist conception of human rights in their widest sense is that of the unity of political, civic, social, economic, and cultural rights. The concept of the state-citizen relationship should be based on the fact that the CSSR is a socialist legal state and that is a state which follows the principle of the sovereignty of law, in which state power is applied only according to law and within its limits, and in which every act of state power is controlled by the Constitution and by law.

The constitution must create such a space for the implementation of civic rights so as would give a citizen full legal security with regard to the scale of his constitutional rights and to his duties. This results in a relationship between state bodies and citizens based on the limitation of power by valid laws. The role of the constitutional regulation of civil rights and liberties consists in defining their scale, which cannot be limited, even by law. The rights which are anchored in the Constitution are thus specially protected. The amended constitution should thus create prerequisites for the verification of observance of the limits in this sphere of civil rights and liberties of the current legislative work. This concerns also securing the freedom of religion and the legal conditions for its implementation.

We will follow up the current constitutional form of basic rights, liberties, and duties of citizens from the viewpoint of current conditions and needs, and deepen and develop them with regard to current conditions and needs. The guarantees of the reality of these rights should be concentrated in particular in the sphere of legal guarantees.

Comrade, esteemed friends, historical experience from the 70 years of the development of our joint state has shown us that it is necessary to pay considerable attention in the constitution to the form of relations between the two elements of Czechoslovak citizenship, the Czech and Slovak nations. We have our tradition here. The new constitution will link up the well-tried principles of the federative state. The more than 20-year existence of the Czechoslovak Federation has shown the correctness of the chosen legal form of the state. The fraternal relations between our nations, their mutual cooperation, awareness of belonging together, and shared responsibility for the development and fate of the common homeland must be protected and deepened as one of the greatest revolutionary achievements of socialism. We will continue on the path of full respect for national individuality, the specific development of every nation, and the consolidation of their unity, of everything that brings them together.

The constitution should regulate the constitutional situation [ustavni pomery] in regard to the Federation and to both republics. A unified document in this form could

establish this fact in its content by the adjustment of constitutional relations on the level of federation and on the level of the republics, as well as by its form: that there will be only be one Constitution.

In this conception, which differs from other socialist federations, we proceed from a well-trying constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, according to which there is regulation of the constitutional conditions, not only of the federation, but of the two republics, and from the historical experience which fully confirms the most vested interest of our two peoples: to live in a common state, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

From this viewpoint, the constitution would firmly fix the sovereignty of not only the Federation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, but the sovereignty of the two republics as well—the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republic, and this will also have to be taken into account in the process of drawing up and ratifying this constitution.

It is desirable to evaluate our experience so far and to continue to seek the path toward further developing the social and state life of Czechs and Slovaks in the united socialist state and to create realistic prerequisites for this. It is also desirable to proceed from the well-trying principles of equality and the voluntary nature of uniting our peoples in a common state, from the unity of our economy, and from the basic unity of the political system and equality of citizens' rights on all Czechoslovak Socialist Republic territory. A common state must fully guarantee the rights and the contribution of national minorities in the development of society, in the execution of state power; it must guarantee the equal position of citizens of all nationalities and ensure the possibility of their further national development.

The division of activities between the Federation and the republics is a main issue of the constitutional amendment on relations inside the Federation. A number of views are held.

It is necessary that we assess our experiences to date, which provide evidence that the basis which has been set up in this respect is viable. In the current stage, when the issue of leveling socioeconomic differences between the two republics has already been resolved, is a question of achieving a higher standard, of meeting the needs of the citizens and the entire society. From this viewpoint the issue is the optimal expression of the tasks of state bodies, of the federation and the republics. We should focus our attention on strengthening their mutual close cooperation. This cooperation possesses both—its fruitful results and the forms which, though not as yet fixed in the constitution, were nevertheless successfully tried in the practice of constitutional law.

For example I have in mind the fact that the prime ministers of the republican governments are holding the posts of deputy prime ministers of the federal government; or the fact that the drafts of all principal measures, including the laws, are being discussed by the republican government as well. There are many more examples of close cooperation. We should base our future common development on it. Let us take, for example, the question of environmental protection, which has so far been the exclusive preserve of the two republics. However, both the republican and the federal ministries are among those which pollute the environment. It is necessary to spend on environmental protection from both—the republican budgets and the federal budget.

Regardless of the fact that protecting the living environment is becoming a global international problem—which must be tackled within the framework of international cooperation—one could cite further examples, particularly in the economic sphere. These and other issues and problems, which were not fully solved by the current constitutional amendments, will have to be carefully assessed, and on this basis the appropriate suggestions will have to be made.

One of the most extensive parts of the new constitution will no doubt be an amendment to the constitutional organ's areas of influence and relations. I have already mentioned the need to strengthen the position of representative bodies. The 17th CPCZ Congress, in harmony with public opinion, noted that the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council have extended their legislative activity and contributed toward strengthening society's legal basis.

Their cooperation is extending in debating the principles and stipulations of laws, just as in deputy research. The role of the legislative body in verifying state economic and social policies has also increased. The authority of their committees' recommendations has been strengthened.

The work of deputies has also improved. The aim is to further deepen the working character of the representative body, to create conditions under which they not only adopt the submitted proposals, but also take a more active part in creating or working them out, and use all the constitutional instruments in their role, including the right of legislative initiative. The new procedural regulations for the highest representative body should also contribute to this. Positive experiences from the past must be developed further and expressed in the constitutional anchoring of the legislative body. One must consider, above all, how to strengthen their ability to verify the activities of governments, ministries and other central organs. Life demonstrates that the role of the highest representative body has definitely increased. They should, above all, have a clear concept and program for verifying activities in their spheres of influence.

In this connection, we should also discuss the current predominant practice of the joint sessions of the chambers of the Federal Assembly and the methods of further developing the independent role of the chambers and efficiency of their constitutional relations with executive organs. It is obviously appropriate to consider the Soviet experiences, as well as to constitutionally delimit both the shared and the separate roles of the two chambers, particularly in the sphere of verification activity.

The internal structure of the highest legislative body also requires assessment. The basic trends aimed at strengthening the working character of their activity should be reflected particularly in the role of plenary sessions and committees. The internal structure of the organs of the highest legislative body should make it possible to further rationalize the management of their activity, to above all stress their legislative and verification activities, and to reinforce their state power character in deciding basic questions in the life of society and the state.

The central position in the work of legislative bodies is taken by their members: the deputies. A lot has been done lately to enhance their position. The draft bills on deputies are being prepared for discussion. In the upcoming period it will be best to enhance the responsibility of deputies for carrying out their duties, both in relation to the voters and in relation to the National Front and the organizations which proposed them. At the same time it is, however, necessary to support them in their responsible work. While retaining the social structure of the deputies, which expresses the representation of all strata of our society, it is necessary to seek ways to improve their activity and create the kind of conditions to do this. It will also be appropriate to assess the question: Should an official who is responsible to the legislative body also be a deputy? In the same way it will be necessary to consider how to constitutionally express a restriction of the multiplicity of deputies' functions in the highest representative bodies and a restriction on holding the same office to two election periods.

The economic and social restructuring process and the tasks based on the need of further developing society place exceptionally high demands on the activity of executive bodies of state power. In this connection, it is necessary to strengthen their role, and in the new constitution give governments and the other executive bodies of state power appropriate constitutional instruments to independently and thoroughly implement entrusted authorities, and at the same time to elevate their constitutional responsibility for implementing state policy in cases where it concerns individual sections, the center, and the localities, in particular in meeting citizens' requirements.

It was stressed at the 12th session of the party's Central Committee that governments must govern, and that their activity is decisive and energetic, conceptual and

thorough organizational inspection activity, which safeguards the fulfillment of the outlined tasks. In this it is necessary to render broad support to governments. Also connected with this is the necessity to strengthen the responsibility of individual representatives of the central bodies of the Federation and the republics, not only for the management of the industry entrusted to them, but also for a comprehensive fulfillment of the aims of the policy of the socialist state. At issue are key questions, which are and must continue to be under the political control of the Communist Party and all working people, but which are also under the constitutional control of the highest representative bodies. It is necessary to discuss whether the nature of this activity by the government and other executive bodies of state power should not be explicitly fixed in the constitution. As far as constitutionally amending the position of the highest constitutional bodies of the Federation and the republics is concerned, it is possible to note that their structure does not require amendments of greater importance.

We have created a system of socialist parliamentarism with an individual head of state, the president of the Republic. The constitutional expression of the status and jurisdiction of the president of the Republic is historically verified. It has fully proved itself; thus, there is no reason to change it. In the new constitution one has to devote considerably more space to the forms of cooperation of the organs of the Federation and the Republic. It must also express the completeness of the structure of constitutional organs and devote to each of them a position which would correspond to its role and position. This also concerns the Council for the Defense of the State, which was set up by an independent constitutional law and whose position should also be reflected in the structure of constitutional organs.

Comrades, esteemed friends, an exceptionally significant role in the system of representative organs and the further development of socialist democracy is held by the national committees which unite state power with the people's self-administration. For their position as well, the principles of the activity of the representative corps are valid. Much has been done in the activity of the national committees. We have achieved many good results in constructing towns and in satisfying the social needs of the population, health care, housing, and services.

A number of intentions, however, were not implemented. We do not conceal the fact that the centralized system of management, planning, and financing limited the possibilities and level of interest of the national committees to more fully exploit their extended jurisdiction. The low level of the national committee's economic independence weakened their responsibility and the interest of the elected organs, deputies, and apparatus to become involved in discussing the questions of development of towns and villages. There are stereotypes in thinking, and the administrative approach is deeply entrenched in regard to satisfying the people's needs.

What are the ways out which could be considered for constitutional expression? Above all, we should continue further along the path of increasing the independence and responsibility of the national committees and deepening the self-administration principles in their activity. At the same time, one should consistently utilize the jurisdiction stipulated by the law and purposefully strengthen them, primarily in towns and villages. Further, we should create such economic, organizational, and legal conditions, such as management and decision-making methods, so that the national committees might formulate, in a democratic and realistic way, the aims of satisfying the people's needs in the development of their territories, and to achieve this by efficient utilization of the social means and rational exploitation of local resources.

It will be appropriate to express in the new constitution a more precise division of labor in state power and administration, to mark out more clearly the full responsibility of the executive organ of the national committee—its plenum.

The process of the restructuring and democratization of the life of society and the strengthening of their legal foundations introduces to the actual practice of the socialist countries a number of new valuable experiences and new political and legal notions. One of them is that of the socialist legal state which, in the creation of the constitution, should find its expression in its content. The new constitution should contain stipulations aimed at enhancing its role in the life of society, in particular, as foundations for perfecting the legal order and strengthening the authority of the law.

On the basis of experience it can be recommended that the observance of the constitution in the legal order be guaranteed in an institutionalized way. It will have to be assessed whether this control will be placed in the hands of the highest representative bodies, or whether there will be another constitutional body which will reform this activity, for example a constitutional court. In addition, if a citizen's right, legal interest, or duty is affected by a decision made by the body of state administration, he should have a greater possibility, after exhausting the available legal means, to request a court investigation of the legality of the decision in question. The possibility of an independent court investigation of a decision of a state administration body can contribute to the reinforcement of citizens' legal awareness and have a preventative impact, which would contribute to an improvement in the quality of the decisionmaking of legal bodies.

We have carried out a number of measures in the past for the implementation of the constitutional principle of the courts' independence in decisionmaking. Practical social findings show that we cannot come to a standstill in a trend to reinforce socialist legality, and that it is necessary to reinforce the role of those bodies whose task is legal protection.

In addition to the independence of judges it would also be appropriate to define the position of state notaries in the constitution. Their decisionmaking, particularly regarding property rights, greatly affects the interests of citizens. The right to defense also deserves a wider definition in the constitution, including the specialized legal aid provided by advocates; it should have its role guaranteed from the beginning of proceedings against citizens.

We should also consider whether custody should not be firmly limited in time, and in this way reinforce the guarantees of socialist legality when decisions are made about extending it from a certain limit. Currently work is being done on investigating the criminal code with the aim of incorporating it in the plans for restructuring and democratization and reinforcing the protection of the citizen's legal position. This does not mean reducing responsibility for behavior which clashes with the interests of society as defined in the Criminal Code. Such behavior will always be prosecuted. However, we must observe high legal standards in criminal proceedings and all activities by bodies of legal protection, to ensure that they are marked by a dignified attitude to the rights of the citizen and that they manifest socialist humanism.

When creating the concept of a new constitution we will have to give some thought to ways to reinforce the unity of activity by court bodies and prosecution bodies so that they implement the principles of socialist legality in a unified way in all parts of our country.

It also seems desirable to assess whether in the basic law of the state the position and functions of the state arbitrage should not be anchored, because their importance is growing with the introduction of the new economic mechanism.

In connection with the work on the new constitution new problems will become apparent which are also important. For example, there are such issues as the emblem of the state, the capitals, territorial division, and so on. Here a whole range of rational and emotional views will probably be displayed. We must carefully consider these views, proceeding from history and culture, from the values and elements that bind us together, and what represents the point of departure for further social development. We must thoroughly analyze both the motives and the potential impact of all opinions and accept those which express the interest of all working people, of our whole society in the further stage of its development.

One of the main problems of each constitution is implementing it and applying it in the life of the community of citizens. We are aware of the fact that the constitution is not being created in isolation, that it represents a point of departure and an indivisible part of the restructuring of the political system, economic mechanism, and legal system. First steps have already been made in this respect. The draft changes in the election legislation are

being worked out, the authority of the national committees has been extended, the prerequisites are being created for strengthening their economic independence. Some improvement has been achieved in simplifying citizens' contact with authorities, in deepening public inspection of state bodies, and in the level of information about their activity. The work on the constitution requires that the linkage with day-to-day legislation is contemplated in a parallel way. The constitution itself will, without doubt, require the adoption of a number of operational laws and will evoke a restructuring of the legal system as a whole. I would like to stress that not only drawing the constitution up, but also implementing it in the legal system in a timely fashion, is an exceptionally important, demanding and highly political matter and represents one of the aspects of the realistic nature of the constitution.

Esteemed comrades, esteemed friends! Considerable work, which will require a highly responsible, creative, and innovative approach, is awaiting us. We envision that by the end of this year the political and legal principles of the new constitution will have been drawn up. A working commission led by Comrade Marian Calfa, CSSR government minister, and which includes legal experts and social scientists—whose names you have received—has been set up to draw up these principles. This commission will create the necessary working background for us. I believe that our commission and all of us will together actively contribute to drawing up the new constitution and to contemplating the problems which should be tackled in it.

We will try to ascertain the views in our work collectives and organizations and gather suggestions and observations. We will, at the same time, be dedicated to explaining the political significance of the work on the new constitution precisely in this stage of society's development. Naturally, we will not avoid this task. In this respect considerable tasks are being faced by the social science sphere, to which we appeal to contribute through its work to drawing up the new constitution. After drawing up the principles of the new constitution, we will present them for discussion to our commission, to the political bodies, and to the bodies of the National Front. We also envision that one of the documents, which will be discussed by the congress in May 1990, will be political and legal principles for the new Czechoslovak constitution. It is also envisioned that the draft constitution will be put to nationwide discussion, to which it will be necessary to give the appropriate attention and to allocate sufficient time for it. At issue is that

all citizens, political parties, public and interest organizations, and collectives of working people can express their views on the draft of this principal law of our state.

Considerable tasks will be facing our commission in connection with organizing and evaluating the nationwide discussion and with projecting its results into the draft constitution. I believe that we will succeed in drawing up a modern and democratic socialist legal basis for further developing our society and state on the brink of the millenium. [applause]

Address Approved as 'Guideline'

LD1001222889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Excerpt] The commission of the CPCZ and the National Front for the preparation of the new constitution of the Czechoslovak SR met today at its first session in Prague. [passage omitted] The members of the commission adopted a resolution at the conclusion of the session. It approves the opening address of Milos Jakes as the guidelines for the progress of the work on the preparation of the new Czechoslovak constitution. They also acknowledged the composition of the working group for the preparation of the new constitution.

Authorities Urge Charter 77 To Cancel Protest

AU1001183489 Paris AFP in English
1822 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 10 (AFP)—Czechoslovak authorities on Tuesday urged leaders of the Charter 77 human rights group to call off a demonstration planned here Sunday in memory of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death 20 years ago to protest the crushing of the Prague Spring.

Vaclav Havel and Dana Nemcova, two of the group's leaders, received a letter Monday from an unknown person threatening to set himself on fire at the demonstration site, Saint Wenceslas Square.

They told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that police detained them Tuesday for several hours and asked them to cancel the protest "so as not to give this unknown person a chance" to carry out his threat.

Both refused, they said. "I have the impression the authorities are now trying to exploit the situation politically," Mr. Havel added.

He said he still believed the letter was authentic, although Mrs. Nemcova said she thought it might be a "provocation".

U.S. Using 'Gunboat Policy' Against Libya
AU1101101189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jan 89 p 2

["PZ" editorial: "An Outrageous Case of Gunboat Policy"]

[Text] The international public has noted with outrage and concern that U.S. Navy fighter planes shot down two Libyan fighter aircraft over international waters north of the Libyan coast. According to information from Tripoli, the two aircraft were unarmed and were on a routine reconnaissance flight mission. However, it is not only the flagrant act of piracy that has been condemned and is being dealt with by the UN Security Council, but the entire provocative build-up of 13 ships and 12,000 troops that the Pentagon is currently staging in the Mediterranean.

This type of gunboat policy is not new. Nor has it been practiced against Libya for the first time. Only the pretexts have changed. The claim has been made that there is a plant near Tripoli which is allegedly able to produce chemical weapons. This claim is so threadbare, however, that even most NATO allies have dissociated themselves from the affair. Obviously, Washington itself is feeling uneasy about it. We are wondering why the State Department rejected the Libyan offer to carry out an on-site inspection at the pharmaceutical plant concerned.

What has been staged here fatally resembles the act of aggression in April 1986. The reason given at the time—that, because of terrorist activities against a West Berlin GI discotheque, Libya must "be taught manners"—soon burst like a soap bubble. Even official U.S. circles admitted that the accusations were totally unfounded. However, in the bomb and missile attack more than 200 people were killed.

If certain forces in the United States now start playing with fire again, the question arises as to what is really behind it. Obviously, they do not like the fact that the international political climate has improved recently, that many countries have changed from confrontation to dialogue, and that several regional conflicts are about to be solved in a peaceful way. These tendencies toward detente are being obstructed, so as to hamper the favorable changes that are taking place in international relations as much as possible.

In this respect it is typical that, of all regions, these forces have picked the Mediterranean area for their notorious behavior as a world policeman. Many of the region's people are consistently struggling to set up a nuclear and chemical weapon-free zone. This struggle is being infiltrated. To this end, the situation is being heated up.

Clear reason and common sense are urgently required, particularly in the nuclear age in which military chain reactions can have devastating consequences. Any further escalation must be prevented.

Envoys Worried Over U.S. 'Violence' to Libya
AU1001165389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The ambassadors of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Julio Goncalo Braga, and of the Republic of Mali, Souleymane Yacoub Sidibe, on behalf of the ambassadors of the African states accredited in the GDR, expressed serious concern about the policy of threats and violence pursued by the United States toward Libya in connection with the unjustified charges concerning the construction of a chemical weapons plant.

The ambassadors were received for a talk by Heinz-Dieter Winter, deputy minister of foreign affairs, on Thursday morning [5 January]. They paid tribute to the GDR's solidarity for the African states in their struggle to defend their sovereignty and independence.

In connection with the shooting down of two Libyan aircraft by the U.S. Armed Forces, Heinz-Dieter Winter pointed out that the GDR considers such aggressive acts and the continued threats of violence toward Libya to be a serious burden for the process leading to the improvement of the international situation, in which progress was achieved last year. It is imperative to ensure peace and security in the Mediterranean region through cautious behavior that is aimed at avoiding confrontation, and to contribute to the peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa and the Middle East.

Honecker Congratulates Hungary's Straub
AU1001153789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations to Professor Bruno Ferenc Straub, chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council, on his 70th birthday. He says in the telegram: "We hold you in esteem as an internationally respected scientist and as a statesman who has worked for his socialist fatherland, for the cause of peace and social progress with high dedication. The constant attention that you, being an honest friend of the GDR, have given to the strengthening of friendship and trusting cooperation between the two countries and peoples, has been highly recognized in our country."

Axen Speaks at 9th DKP Congress
AU1101111289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 7-8 Jan 89 p 4

[Report on speech by Hermann Axen, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the DKP Congress in Frankfurt/Main on 6 January: "At the Ninth DKP Congress in Frankfurt/Main; Thaelmann's Solidarity Characterizes the Relations Between SED and DKP"]

[Text] With great pleasure and in the spirit of deep solidarity to which the historical progress on German soil commits our parties historically, I convey most

cordial militant greetings from the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Hon-ecker, to the Ninth DKP Congress, Hermann Axen said at the beginning of his speech.

Your party congress is taking place at a time of global challenges for mankind, he stated. The prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, the safeguarding of peace by a comprehensive system of international security, the use of the scientific-technological revolution in the people's interest, the humanist solution of the problems of under-development, hunger, debts, ecology, and gene technology, and purposeful, joint actions of all peoples and states affirm nationally and internationally the historic mission of the workers class, its Marxist-Leninist parties, and of socialism.

DKP—Most Consistent Force in the Struggle for the Basic Interests of the FRG People

In the 20 years since it was constituted—Hermann Axen continued—the DKP, true to the great traditions of the 70 years of the German Communists' struggle, has proved to be the most consistent and farsighted force in the struggle for the national and social interests of the FRG people. The DKP has made an important contribution to all that has developed to defend and increase the potential of peace, democracy, and progress in the strongest imperialist European country. The DKP's policy has been confirmed by the course of events in decisive stages of the struggle for peace and social and democratic rights. No doubt more and more citizens of your state will become convinced of how beneficial it is that a Marxist-Leninist, a revolutionary militant party, the DKP, is living and working in the FRG!

Great Ideal of the Workers Movement Implemented in the GDR

As the speaker stressed, the development of the socialist German state is, of course, of great importance for Communists and peace-loving FRG citizens. In the 40th year of its existence, the great ideal of the workers movement, "Work, Bread, and World Peace," has been implemented and the superiority of socialism over capitalism has been clearly proven in the GDR. With the establishment of the workers' and peasants' rule, the nationalization of the main means of production, the socialist planned economy, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the ideological and cultural revolution, and the further development of the socialist democracy, basic freedoms, and all human rights—the right to life and peace, the right to work, the right to equal educational chances for all, equal rights for women, free health care, stable low consumer prices for basic goods, rents and services—have become a reality.

Since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971, we have been shaping the developed socialist society, which focuses on the people's welfare and to which our concept of the

unity of economic and social policy corresponds, Hermann Axen explained. At the same time and at the right time, we have thus completed the transition to the intensification of the national economy. During the years 1971 to 1986, the national income and the production of industrial goods were more than doubled. Bearing in mind Lenin's words that socialism will exert its main influence on international events above all through its economic successes, and in view of the rapid progress of the scientific-technological revolution, the 11th party congress of 1986 entered a new phase, a new stage of development which is characterized by the comprehensive intensification of the economy and the application and mastering of key technologies.

Today, the GDR belongs to the few countries in the world that have reached leading positions in microelectronics, in chip production. And it is a country in which the housing question will be solved as a social problem by 1990. Two figures demonstrate the progress of the socialist German state in the worldwide competition of the systems for the highest labor productivity and welfare of the people: In 1988, the 1-megabit storage circuit was produced and the 3-millionth apartment was handed over to a workers family.

In the course of his speech, the SED delegation head stressed: Evidence has finally been furnished in all life's important spheres that the workers class, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, is fundamentally better able to manage and shape the economy and society than the capitalist class. Socialism has accomplished great things in our country. There is still a lot to be done, and many things are still to be improved and perfected in the people's lives. The things that have become obsolete are abandoned and the things that have proven themselves are continued. We will tackle the new challenges of our time with the revolutionary vigor of the liberated people.

"Recommendations" That are Disregarded in Our Country

According to the 1976 SED program, the shaping of the developed socialist society is a process of far-reaching, political, economic, social, and intellectual changes, which means a fundamental revolutionary process.

As 40 years of the GDR have demonstrated, numerous socialist reforms have been carried out in this connection, Hermann Axen stated. However, we will not listen, either today or tomorrow, to those who recommend reforms that are aimed at the introduction of the capitalist economy and bourgeois democracy. We have learned our lesson from history, from the November Revolution, the Weimar Republic, and fascism; we have learned our lesson from the 70 years of struggle of the German communists, and, last but not least, from the 40 years of successful implementation of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on German soil, which led to the flourishing of the GDR!

The speaker referred to the Seventh SED Central Committee Session at the beginning of December 1988. There, a decision was made to convene the 12th SED Congress in May 1990. The goals of the developed socialist society for the nineties will be outlined at this congress. Comrade Erich Honecker gave a speech of great theoretical content and political significance at the Seventh Central Committee Session, in which he exactly described the processes of development and our tasks up to the 12th Congress. This speech has provided a clear picture of the future goals of your socialist German neighbor country. It was characterized by the following insight: The clearer the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the more creative and efficient theory and practice!

Attempts to Drive a Wedge Between the GDR and USSR Will Fail

Hermann Axen continued: Peace, work, democracy, and social progress are fundamental values that are shared by all socialist states. For this reason, all fraternal parties in the socialist states pursue the goal of achieving a high level of dynamics in socioeconomic development, of raising the people's standard of living, and of expanding democracy.

This is taking place on the basis of the universal laws of socialism, in accordance with the specific historic and national conditions and the experiences of every individual country, in different forms and on the basis of different methods. Thus, the construction of socialism is characterized by increasing variety. In dialectic connection with this, cooperation and cohesion among our socialist community, in which the GDR is firmly incorporated, will further increase.

All attempts by opponents that are aimed at driving a wedge between the SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR, will fail, the head of the SED Central Committee delegation stressed.

As a result of the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker in September 1988, our fraternal relations, which are characterized by an unparalleled intensity, will further strengthen. At the meeting the two sides confirmed that the SED will support the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and that the CPSU will support the realization of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress.

Peace, Disarmament, and Cooperation Are the Prime Necessities of Our Policy

The prime necessity of our policy is and continues to be the awareness of our own responsibility for peace, disarmament, and cooperation, Hermann Axen pointed out. On the basis of the joint peace program of the Warsaw Pact states, the GDR, through its policy of dialogue, its independent initiatives and activities, has given a constructive boost to the process of detente.

The speaker told the delegates: We share your view that nuclear disarmament was initiated with the treaty on the elimination of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles. The transition from confrontation to detente has been started but it is far from having been completed. The disarmament process must be continued without delay, and the change toward improving the international situation must be made irreversible. Just like you, the GDR also supports halving the strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM Treaty, a chemical weapons ban, conventional disarmament, and a nuclear test ban. The joint proposals of the SED, SPD, and CPCZ for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe as well as the SED-SPD initiative aimed at setting up a zone of confidence and security in central Europe are important elements of a peaceful European home.

The most recent bold proposal by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, which he made in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly, is of the greatest importance, Hermann Axen emphasized. The Soviet Union will reduce its Armed Forces unilaterally by 500,000 soldiers and the corresponding weapons over the next few years. Agreement has been reached with the fraternal countries to withdraw six tank divisions of the Soviet Armed Forces from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic, which involves 50,000 soldiers and 5,000 tanks. This new pioneering disarmament initiative, which is fully supported by the GDR, has again testified in a convincing manner to socialism's commitment to peace and to the peace-loving character of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine.

With this practical step, the socialist states have made an important contribution to eliminating the disparities concerning troops and conventional arms. When will NATO follow this example of peacefulness and goodwill?

Because of the fact that the century-old lie about the threat from the East is vanishing, NATO politicians are trying to counter the tremendous impact of socialism's peace initiatives through stale lies about the military balance of power and to divert international attention from their arms buildup in the sphere of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons.

The current situation requires more vigorous commitment to the cause of peace by the people, Hermann Axen pointed out. The success of the International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones in the GDR in June last year, the largest international forum of peace-lovers that has been organized so far, has provided new inspiration and vigorous impulses for the mobilization and activation of world conscience. We would like to convey thanks from this forum to the numerous representatives of the FRG who did a great service to the cause of peace, reason, and realism through their participation in the Berlin meeting.

For Reason and Realism in Relations Between the Two German States

The head of the SED delegation confirmed: The GDR has been working consistently and constructively for 40 years to see that reason and realism gain ground in the relations between the two German states. With the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in September 1987, a qualitatively new political step was made, and a new phase of development was opened in the interest of peace and European security, as well as of mutually advantageous cooperation.

To consistently and swiftly implement the fundamental communique, which was issued on the occasion of this visit, is and continues to be the most important concern. We would like to express the hope that the FRG Government will act in this spirit and not permit this agreement that has jointly been adopted to be undermined or suppressed.

In conclusion Hermann Axen stated: We start from the premise that the DKP will fulfill its indispensable historic mission, in accordance with the statement by Karl Liebknecht at the founding congress of the KPD, as a party that "represents in a determined and vigorous manner the interests of the proletariat, a party whose ranks are closed and uniform, and a party that has a clear program!"

In this spirit, we wholeheartedly wish the Ninth DKP Congress much success!

Long live the DKP, the revolutionary militant party of the workers class and of the entire people of the FRG! Long live the alliance between the SED and DKP in the spirit of Thaelmann!

Let us jointly struggle for a peaceful Europe, for a world without wars and violence, for a world where reason and humanity prevail!

State Denies Shots Fired at Escapees on Border

LD1001211989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1602 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to a DPA report Herr Ost, the present Bonn government spokesman, has stated that the use of firearms stands in crass contradiction to the efforts by the CSCE review conference in Vienna to improve the human rights situation. This is a strange statement, since as far as we know the FRG Government has not arranged to have its police and its border protection force disarmed. Moreover, one often hears that they use their Colts without knowing whom they are using these guns against. The results of this were injured and dead young people.

In view of this fact it is not surprising that Herr Ost protests against shots at escapees by GDR border troops even though there have not been any at all, neither on the border with West Berlin nor on the border with the FRG.

Indeed, the GDR defense minister stated recently that there is no order to shoot despite how much the FRG Government has to say about it. In response to an inquiry about this recently the FRG side said that this development has not escaped its notice; as far as Herr Ost is concerned this does not appear to be the case.

Border Troops Step Up Exercises at Hesse

LD1001143089 Hamburg DPA in German
1339 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Kassel (DPA)—The GDR frontier troops have tripled their exercises at the Hesse border, apparently in reaction to the increased number of escape attempts. At the same time, new dog runs were set up in this area and the halogen light barriers were extended last December. These observations by West German frontier protection force members were announced Tuesday by the Mitte Frontier Protection Command in Kassel. According to the report, the GDR frontier troops scaled down their night search activities in December.

Withdrawals From SED After SPUTNIK Ban

AU1001135789 Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 10 Jan 89 p 2

[Evangelical Press Service report: "Withdrawals from SED After SPUTNIK Ban"]

[Text] Berlin—According to a report by the East Berlin magazine UMWELTBLAETTER, there have been massive protests in numerous GDR cities against the ban of the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK which was imposed by the SED leadership in November. The magazine, which is published by the Environmental Library of the Zion Church, stated that the ban has led to withdrawals from the SED and to strikes and other protest actions for instance in East Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, and Weimar. The ban of the magazine, which exclusively reprints articles of other Soviet periodicals, was justified with the statement that SPUTNIK does not contribute to "the consolidation of German-Soviet friendship." It carries "distorting articles on history." The edition of the magazine which caused the ban contained critical contributions on Stalinism. As UMWELTBLAETTER reports, after the ban protests were expressed in wall newspapers in East Berlin enterprises, schools, and youth clubs. Strikes lasting several hours reportedly took place in part of the Leuna Works near Halle. After threats by the enterprise party leadership and security officers, the workers returned to work. According to UMWELTBLAETTER, some people were arrested.

Militant Demonstration Announced for 15 Jan

AU1001155989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 7-8 Jan 89 p 1

[Boxed-in announcement at the bottom of page 1]

[Text] The Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, the FDGB Bezirk Executive Committee, and the GDR National Front Committee call the Berlin working people to a

militant demonstration on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg at the socialist memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

Speaker: Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The demonstration will take place on Sunday, 15 January 1989, at 0900, under the slogan: "We honor Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg with high performances to strengthen socialism and peace! Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!"

Evangelical Church Official on Travel Regulations
AU1001143289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
10 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR and "political leader" of the Federation, by Hans-Ruediger Karutz: "A Way That Can Lead to a Good Outcome"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Karutz: Do the new travel regulations, which have been in force for a few days now, fulfill the church's expectations?

Stolpe: Yes! Regional Bishop Werner Leich, the chairman of our church federation, spoke of a visible beginning of a way that can lead to a good outcome. I agree with this assessment. Of course, wishes and questions can be cited in connection with every measure. But, in total, the positive aspects dominate. [passage omitted]

Karutz: What does the church miss in the existing regulations? Was it not possible, in your view, to finally abolish the necessity for an applicant to prove that he has relatives in the West?

Stolpe: The travel regulations are not yet ideal, but they are as good as is possible today, and discussions about deficiencies and disappointments must not obscure the great progress. Of course, it must remain the goal to reach a further easing of travel restrictions in a Europe

without political tensions and under acceptable economic conditions. At present, people with family connections are better off concerning trips to the West. This corresponds to the CSCE documents.

I very much hope that—with a further reduction of international confrontation, the renunciation of the production of new offensive weapons, and the development of a financial settlement that is beneficial to the GDR—private trips to the West will become possible without having to prove special reasons or family connections. Tourist trips have already shown a start in this direction. In this field, Western organizations and institutions could develop considerably more political and economic imagination in order to meet the GDR citizens' demands for trips. [passage omitted]

Karutz: In a lecture in East Berlin, you appealed to the churches in both parts of the country to deal with the problem of how things should continue regarding the national question, to topics such as "reunification," and to other sensitive issues. What was the response like, and how would you—in view of the latest developments in your country and with a view to the advanced SED Congress—formulate your wishes in this connection and in connection with the future of the other German state?

Stolpe: It is my concern to make the German situation more businesslike. Therefore, I drew attention to some realities, which one should face and which could also be discussed by the German churches, for instance. This does not include the term of reunification. It is politically and historically incorrect, rouses emotions, and confuses the people.

However, the realities include millionfold relations between German people across the borders, the community of language, culture, and ensuring life in central Europe, and the border-transcending communities of religion and weltanschauung. Therefore, it is time to reinterpret the preamble of your Basic Law. For the foreseeable future, German affinity will have to be lived and can be lived in two states. The basic political conditions are now better than they have been over the past decades, and all possibilities of easing tensions, cooperation, and making things easier for the people must be used. Such an important paper as DIE WELT can also contribute much to this! Could you not, for instance, use the word GDR without putting it in quotation marks?

Leaders Speak on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

Grosz, Karpati on Pullout

LD1001192089 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karly Grosz and Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by correspondents Forro and Keleti; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Forro] It is obviously not coincidental that Karoly Grosz announced in a Japanese paper that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary might begin within a few weeks quite possibly.

[Grosz] Naturally the fact as to whom and when one makes a statement has a role in politics. I have received a very nice invitation to Japan and this interview served a little bit, really, to prepare for this visit. Well, it is customary in politics that a politician visiting a country introduces himself to the host. Well, now, during the conversation many subjects were broached, including this question too. It is impossible to meet a journalist in the world today without being asked this question. Gorbachev's announcement was of great significance and now the announcement is being implemented. If you had asked me 2 months ago, I would not have been able to answer it. However, preparations are taking place slowly, very carefully; taking political, military-political, and economic considerations into account. It is now already possible to state responsibly that concrete preparations have already begun.

[Forro] In any case, this was a confidence-building announcement...

[Grosz, interrupting] Well, yes, we did not open the door [sortnyitottunk]. This is perfectly unambiguous and clear to the world; still we must make use of this opportunity. Really it was this event which brought this about. An earlier opportunity could have been taken but we were unable to say anything about it.

[Keleti] In the interview which Karoly Grosz gave to the Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, there was one fundamentally new piece of information in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, that is that the withdrawal of troops would begin within a few weeks. What does this mean more precisely? Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati.

[Karpati] In connection with the withdrawal, the general staffs immediately began preparations after Comrade Gorbachev made his announcement. Everyone can understand that the withdrawal of such an important military force must extend to a great many things; it must signify circumspect work.

As a matter of fact, we are now slowly reaching the end of this preparatory work. So, following this, the implementation may come about.

[Keleti] In a few weeks even?

[Karpati] I cannot say precisely, for it is not just from Hungary that Soviet troops will be withdrawn; as is known they will also be withdrawn from the GDR and CSSR. To my knowledge, similar preparations are underway there too, but I think it is possible that it may happen earlier in Hungary.

It is also known that Comrade Gorbachev spoke about a very significant reduction, the reduction of military forces by half a million. This means that the personnel must be taken care of, above all else. This is easier with the conscripts; they are discharged and go home. But this affects many thousands of professional soldiers who must also be discharged. In all probability the older ones will be retired; the younger ones will be directed elsewhere. It affects a very great quantity of defense technology and arms. As was said and is known, a significant part of this will be destroyed, but it is a question of a great quantity.

[Keleti] Do we know any figures yet? We know about the half a million but not about how many Soviet divisions or soldiers will be withdrawn from Hungary.

[Karpati] I have already spoken about this. It affects an armored division. Well, those who were soldiers understand what this means; this is a very significant military force, several hundred armored vehicles, for example. However, this reduction extends not only to armored vehicles, armored vehicle units, but also other arms.

[Keleti] For example?

[Karpati] Well, for example, the withdrawal of certain air force units. This is also very serious. From another aspect, certain training centers will cease to exist, centers located in Hungary. A commando battalion and other arms will also be withdrawn. This will affect mainly the garrisons, that is towns and larger settlements in transdanubia, but certain units will be withdrawn from other parts of the country as well.

[Keleti] Admittedly these are not official figures, but it is said that there are 65,000 Soviet soldiers in Hungary. What proportion will be affected by the withdrawal?

[Karpati] Let us not go on with this petty war of numbers. I ask you to be content on this occasion with the answer that this withdrawal will extend to approximately one-quarter of the Soviet troops here. But I think that what is really significant is that this expresses a political effort which was not there before. In other words, with this step the Soviet leadership has demonstrated that it does not insist on keeping its troops stationed outside its borders. I think it is this which is really significant.

[Keleti] What will be the fate of those objects which the Soviet troops are still using?

[Karpati] It is known that certain objects, buildings of the Soviet forces stationed here, belong to the Hungarian People's Republic, but a significant proportion of them were built with Soviet financial resources. Well, these matters are still pending.

Karpati Interviewed

LD1001152789 Budapest MTI in English
1357 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—At Tuesday noon Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, gave an interview to Hungarian television on the planned partial withdrawal of Soviet troops. He said the preparations for removal are nearing completion, and shortly after that practical implementation may be commenced. The withdrawal covers major military units, including a armoured division, which is a major proportion of the armoured units stationed in Hungary....The reduction and pullout concern devices regarded as offensive weapons in both Hungary and elsewhere, such as a parachute battalion, several flying units and other sub-units. Regionally, the measures mainly concern Transdanubia, but also other towns in different parts of the country.

The minister expressed the hope that the Vienna follow-up meeting would soon be concluded, and the talks on the reduction of conventional weapons can start immediately. Should the talks be successful, he said, in all probability further Soviet troops, too, can be withdrawn. We are also working to reduce the current strength of the Hungarian Peoples' Army so that it really match its defensive character.

Grosz Interviewed

LD1101124089 Budapest MTI in English
1104 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—As reported yesterday, HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz announced in an interview given to the Japanese "NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN" that the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary would commence in a matter of weeks. On the score of this news, the government daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" asked the HSWP general secretary for a brief interview.

Q: What were the direct preliminaries of this decision?

A: This is a political decision. We should not look for economic considerations behind this decision although it will entail economic consequences as well. It reflects the particular flexibility of the Soviet leadership that it makes unilateral disarmament steps as well. As is known, we asked to be involved in the first phase of the process, which affects other countries as well, our request was accepted and, accordingly, preparations for partial withdrawal started.

Q: Whom are these preparations made by?

A: They are made by the military committees set up for the purpose in both countries.

Q: What size of military force will be withdrawn?

A: At present I can only say that massive forces will be regrouped. To withdraw troops is a complicated military manoeuvre. If, for instance, an armoured division is withdrawn, the staff of the supply units and the links with other divisions have to be considered as well. If an air unit is withdrawn, who could say it at once how many air bases of other units, including Hungarian ones, are affected by the manoeuvre.

Q: The troop withdrawals will obviously have an impact on the Hungarian national economy.

A: It is important that the regrouping of forces should relieve the most possible means. The Soviet troops stationing here are paying for energy supply, water, gas and electricity. It is not all the same which areas will be affected by the troop withdrawal, where will the troops be removed from and which buildings will become vacant that way. It may happen that the buildings will become vacant at areas factories and other employment facilities. A long list of different aspects and different interests could be compiled. These interests should be coordinated precisely and in detail to find an optimal compromise. I mean the coordination of military and economic interests, and not Hungarian-Soviet interests in general, since there is a complete unity in the latter field.

Romanian CSCE 'Torpedo' Could Boomerang

LD0601102089 Budapest MTI in English
0940 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—Commenting on the draft closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, Friday's NEPSZABADSAG says, "it could have been expected that Romania would launch the diplomatic 'torpedo' in Vienna. In his recent speech, Nicolae Ceausescu has informed the world he will not put his initials on a document which he said would throw progressive Romania back to the era of inquisition. This speech foreshadowed the possibility that Bucharest would repeatedly imperil the constructive endeavours of the European countries, the United States and Canada. On making the announcement, they did not care much about condemning Romania to isolation in the centre of the continent. Abusing the principle of consensus, they might annul with a brief 'no' the 'yes' which seems to come about after two years of hard but constructive debates and search for compromises by 34 countries. The signatories to the Helsinki accords say 'yes' to the further common consolidation of mutual confidence and the creation of a more secure Europe.

Romania, whose human right practice is qualified by the world press day by day, formally says no to conventions relating to the freedom of religion, the social control over

the implementation of the Helsinki process, the free movement of citizens and supervision of the observance of basic human rights, but in fact its 'torpedo' is directed against cooperation in general.

However, torpedoes not always hit the target, and there have been instances of their returning to where they have been launched.

Democratic Forum Letter on Romanian Refugees
AU1001131289 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 9 Jan 89 p 4

[Letter sent by the Hungarian Democratic Forum to National Assembly Chairman Istvan Stadinger: "Tragic Events on the Hungarian - Romanian Border—Proposals for the Benefit of Refugees from Transylvania"]

[Text] The Gyula town organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum has sent the following letter to Istvan Stadinger, on the subject of the authorities' attitude toward refugees from Transylvania and the state of affairs prevailing along the border:

To Mr Istvan Stadinger,
Chairman of the National Assembly,
Budapest

Esteemed Mr Chairman!

As citizens living along the border, we daily witness cases in connection with the refugees from Transylvania which sharply contradict the declared attitude of the official bodies and prominent personalities of our people's republic.

We are shocked that, after risking their lives to flee to us, a great number of refugees are sent back by the Hungarian authorities on the basis of criteria, authorities, and regulations that are unclear to this very day, only to allow the pursuers to carry out the obvious judgment on them (making them cripples, and often beating them to death.)

In order to avoid all this, we demand that the National Assembly oblige the government to include Hungary in the Geneva Convention of 1951.

We also demand that the National Assembly oblige the government to renounce the border area agreement signed with Romania (its Article No.24)

We demand that the National Assembly decide on the establishment of refugee camps and make it possible for the UN Refugees Committee to supervise these camps.

To prove the above points, we include a short description of latest facts and we ask you to be so kind as to forward this description to the National Assembly.

Information originating from interior ministry sources: For about 3 months, rumors circulating among the people living near the border said that several corpses could be found in the cornfields along the border. The Bekescsaba Police Headquarters carried out a systematic search of the area and found 18 corpses along the 50-kilometer stretch between Lokoshaza and Kotany, all of them killed by firearms.

On 27 December 1988, a young man and two 18-year-old girls tried to escape over the border near Gyula. The young man hid in a deep ditch and thus the Romanian border guards did not notice him. However, the two girls were caught. From his hiding place, the young man saw how the two girls were stripped of their clothes, beaten with rifle butts, and then taken away.

Many children are also killed. According to a report (interior ministry source), a Hungarian family from Romania traveled by a horse-drawn cart toward the border and wanted to cross the border. They hid their 4-year-old daughter in the hay lying on top of their cart. Accidentally, they came across Romanian soldiers who were even patrolling the open road. The soldiers pierced the stack of hay with bayonets fixed to their rifles and hit the hiding child. The bayonet pierced the child's temple and killed her.

According to people serving in the area in question, even today in 1989 some 50 percent of the refugees are handed back to the Romanian authorities. Every gypsy, anyone who does not speak good Hungarian, or anyone with a criminal record in Romania is handed back. The decision on whom to turn back is taken relatively quickly: Gypsies, for example, are often already turned back by the border guards; the same procedure is sometimes used with those who speak Romanian. The border police headquarters is the second level of turning people back. Finally, and probably most frequently, the county police headquarters decides in accordance with its own authority on whom to send back. The organized and well functioning procedure of sending refugees back shows that here we are not talking about distortions of local authorities, but that both the police and the border police act according to regulations. In the short period of 4 days, between 27 December 1988 and 1 January 1989, 9 people crossed the border in a small border area near Gyula, and 5 of them were handed back to the Romanian authorities.

Gyula, 6 January 1989
Hungarian Democratic Forum
Gyula town organization

Although not clearly stated, in the report sent by the Gyula organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum there is the idea that the 18 corpses in question were found on Hungarian territory. The Bekescsaba Police Headquarters can check the border area only from within Hungarian territory. Therefore, the aforementioned terrible facts are also accompanied by a rude

Romanian violation of our borders. These unfortunate people were killed on Hungarian territory from wounds inflicted by Romanian arms.

This is the real state of affairs in Hungarian - Romanian relations today, at the beginning of 1989. Alliance? Agreements? No, murder and aggression instead. And, on our part, silence.

We think that the Hungarian National Assembly will make the greatest mistake so far if it also leaves these alarm signals unanswered and fails to oblige the government to take firmer steps than ever.

As a result of the aggression of the Romanian side, this issue has become ripe for the Hungarian Government to submit it to the UN Security Council.

Signed: The Provisional Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Group Prosecution if Refugee Rumours False

*LD1001235389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Finally, a news item about a matter which has evoked a great response all over the country. The supreme prosecutor has confirmed that proceedings will be opened against the Gyula branch of the Hungarian Democratic Forum on strong suspicion of spreading alarming rumors, if their statement that the corpses of refugees were found in Bekes along the Hungarian-Romanian border turns out to be false.

Yesterday, by the way, the Interior Ministry officially denied that corpses or wounded people had been found along the Hungarian-Romanian border.

Assembly Committee Considers Refugees

*LD1001234189 Budapest MTI in English
2014 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly held a session under the chairmanship of Matyas Szuros, on Tuesday, during a break in the session of Parliament. Andras Farago, head of parliament's press office, informed MTI that several organizations, private persons, and representatives—voicing anxiety over the fate of persons who flee to Hungary—have forwarded a motion to Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly. Mr Stadinger requested the Foreign Affairs Committee to take a stand on this important issue. At the session, the committee heard a move by Gyorgy Banffy, MP of Budapest, in which he proposed that Parliament should pass a resolution that no single refugee be turned back from the area of the country without a thorough investigation. The MP also encouraged that the government report, within a definite time, on the

results of family unifications, the organization of refugee camps, the possibilities of joining the Geneva Convention, and possibility of U.N. assistance.

National Assembly Continues 20 Dec Session

Adopts Modified Bill

*LD1001151589 Budapest MTI in English
1406 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—As reported, on Tuesday the Hungarian National Assembly continued its session started on December 20, 1988.

Seated in the conference room are Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Present were the members of the HSWP Political Committee, the secretaries of the Central committee and several members of the Budapest diplomatic corps.

Recording secretary Laszlo Pesta announced that since the session, suspended on December 22, MPS have indicated a further 7 interpellations and questions.

Following, Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar delivered his report.

Contributing to the discussion of the bill concerning amendment of the constitution, Bertalan Sudi, MP from Bacs-Kiskun County, proposed not to accept the provision of the ministerial proposal that would abolish the practice of submitting interpellation to the president of the Supreme Court. Kalman Kulcsar pointed out that the proposal was designed to ensure the independence of courts. He requested the session to adopt the amendment to the constitution in its original form. The voting showed that only 249 Mps shared the view of the minister. As the necessary majority for passing a constitution amendment is two thirds, parliament accepted the proposal of Bertalan Sudi. Then the modified version of the bill was adopted by 345 votes.

Report on 10 Jan Session

*LD1001210189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Report on the 10 January national Assembly session in Budapest by correspondents Attila Balint and Andras Domany]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The debate ended relatively early, on the one hand so that those concerned could meet the WEU delegation and on the other hand so that the National Assembly's specialist committee, together with the minister of justice, could discuss the possible modifications thoroughly. Since then, the committee session has ended. Zsolt Bocskai attended it.

[Bocskai] Perhaps the most important problem which was most discussed, was whether or not there should be a party law; whether or not this paragraph should remain in the draft law. After the debate, Kalman Kulcsar said that he still maintains his original standpoint, according to which this regulation should remain so that a separate party law should eventually regulate the conditions for the founding and operation of parties.

The deputies accepted this only provided that Kalman Kulcsar announces tomorrow when the government plans to put this draft to the National Assembly; the deadline is half a year, 6 months—the draft law must be before the deputies by 1 August.

Today the [National Assembly] Foreign Affairs Committee also held a session during one of the recesses. In recent days, several petitions have arrived at the National Assembly concerning the [Transylvanian] refugees. A certain deputy was considering making an interpellation on this matter, and Deputy Gyöergy Banffy indicated that he was going to raise this matter. This is why the Foreign Affairs Committee had to take a stand on the petitions and proposals before the full session of parliament can decide these tomorrow.

The essence of the matter in which the Foreign Affairs Committee is in agreement is that at its next session the government should give comprehensive information on the affairs of the refugees; on what has happened to the family unification requests, and on what will happen about a refugee camp. By the next session the possibilities for joining the Geneva convention on refugees should be examined, as well as how the assistance of the United Nations could possibly be utilized in the interests of those who have escaped to our country.

MTI Reports Proceedings

LD1001215789 Budapest MTI in English
2008 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—After adopting the amendment to the Constitution, MPS decided to discuss the bill on the right of association and assembly jointly, but to take separate decisions on the bills.

Istvan Huszar (National List), general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, [PPF NC], was the first to take the floor. He said that the social debate, organized by the PPF NC, was attended and addressed by about 50,000 people. Summing up the experience, Istvan Huszar stressed that as at present no law is yet available but the various organizations, associations and societies are already existent, a comprehensive law is necessary to cover all types of associations, including the possibility of forming parties and trade unions. At the same time, it is necessary to work out the special provisions, the law on the party, which may complete legal regulation. It was asked by many whether it is appropriate to regulate such important issues by law

before the drafting of the new constitution? Istvan Huszar said that the adoption of the two bills will not aggravate but rather assist the framing of the new constitution.

Former Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja (MP from Bekes county) addressed the debate. In his view, it is premature to frame a law on parties and the present order of legislation should be adhered to. The new constitution should be worked out first, which should be followed by the framing of the party law, and the law on association could come about on the basis of these two legal measures. The MP also doubted that the wider strata of Hungarian society genuinely require the paragraph on the setting up of political parties. Mr Puja stressed: while we are occupied with the future regulation of socialist pluralism, the outlines of an entirely different plurism are emerging. In the current situation, when the living standard is deteriorating and dissatisfaction increasing, the probable sharp debate between the parties would not promote advancement.

The debate on the bills on the right of association and the right of assembly was addressed on Tuesday by Ferenc Kiraly, MP from Szolnok county. He noted that the bill on the right of association would be a proposal on a European scale that adapts to the spirit and letter of the international covenant on civil and political rights, were it faithful to itself. He termed it unfortunate that the second paragraph of article 4 of this important reform law makes it impossible to set up political parties, or places it in the distant future.

The MP voiced his view that the HSWP should have the greatest need for independent parties that are based on constitutionality. It is a historical and moral constraint for the national assembly to allow the alternative groups, the future parties, into the forts of power, he stressed. To be first among the equals can now be the only realistic and honest goal of the party, he noted.

MP Janos Szentagothai (National List) discussing the two bills stressed that they point towards the radical break with the political and social model of Stalinist inspiration of socialism which has become outdated in all respects. He stressed that the bill submitted on the right of association is not sufficiently unanimous: the possibility to set up and operate political parties is openly and clearly formulated in the second article but the right is withdrawn, or at least restricted, in the fourth article.

Mr Szentagothai stressed that the time has come to replace the monolithic power with the governmental system of parties that represent the constructive political tendencies of Hungarian society, and which control each other. In conclusion he proposed that the fourth article be deleted from the bill, or to reword its second point: the decrees of the constitution are authoritative with respect to the role of the political party fulfilled in

society. The second solution is that the national assembly oblige the government to bring its bill on the registration and operation of the political parties prior to the summer break of 1989, so that it could come into force by July 1, 1989 at the latest.

Prior to ending the Tuesday session, Istvan Stadinger who was presiding, informed the MPS that a delegation of the West European Union had attended the session. He welcomed Charles Gorens, president of the general assembly of the union and his staff members.

Parliament will continue its work on Wednesday morning with discussions on the bills on the right of association and the right of assembly, and the position of the legal, administration and judicial committee will be presented.

Kulcsar Addresses Assembly
*LD1001124189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0910 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Speech by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar to National Assembly—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly. I submit to you, on the basis of the government's authorization and on behalf of the government, draft laws amending the Constitution and touching on constitutional rights. These are draft laws which directly articulate themselves in the process of the transformation of the political system, and which are part of the conscious endeavors aimed at transforming the political system.

Before I directly justify the submitted draft laws, allow me to make some more general comments. By the way, my making these justifies my submitting, jointly, the three separate draft laws.

It is not the task of the minister of justice to analyze the transformation of the political system itself, and the need for transformation. Nevertheless, I have to say, in order to place the draft laws in a more general context, that, first: It is not only the successful development of the economic reform which makes a change of the political system unavoidable. Second: The proposals being submitted constitute part of the creation of the new Constitution, but they do not take the place of the new Constitution.

Let us look first at the contents of the first statement. The economic reform requires a transformation of the political system, because it cannot be formed in any activity sphere of society, in the hope of success—thus, this is how irreversibility can be ensured, and this is how the danger of going backward [visszarendezoedes] can be averted. Past experiences are also persuasive from this viewpoint. However, motives for the transformation of the political system also lead us to two other processes. On one hand, the modernization of Hungarian society cannot develop further within the framework of an

authoritative type of political system. It is also indicated by international experience, and it can easily be perceived by logic, that the second process of modernization, which is built on automatic development, and which fits successfully into the unified economic-political world system, requires a creativity, an activation of energies, utilization of individuals' and groups' innovative force, and application of knowledge in every sphere, which is only possible in a political system which in all its parts is democratically built and operating, thus, one which allows an unfolding of society's energies.

On the other hand, the model of the socialist political system, formulated among former historical circumstances particular to the times, is no longer capable of handling the various political motions, processes, tensions, and conflicts with a view to the interest of the society. Society has changed: In many respects it has not only outgrown the circumstances of the past 4 decades, but its connections with the historical past, which enabled this political system to function—even if sometimes dysfunctionally—are also fading away. So: What does the second statement mean?

The restructuring of the political system can be completed with a new constitution that is capable of expressing the transformation of our society and of giving a framework to former processes in a way that integrates itself into the mainstream of European constitutional development and reintegrates itself into Hungarian constitutional development, as a process. This constitution is being prepared now. The National Assembly Constitutional Committee has already received the first raw conceptions.

Even if work is speeded up, in accordance with what was said at the November National Assembly session, the earliest possible date for the text—perfected also in a social debate—to appear before the National Assembly, is the end of 1989. However, neither the political processes of society, nor the demands of the changing political system—closely related to each other—allow us to postpone the formation of laws related to constitutional problems to the period of time following the new constitution.

We have to turn into reality, for instance, the basic human rights of association and assembly. We have to ensure that we can exercise these rights in a concrete fashion. This, however, requires, to start with, the elimination of some decrees from the text of the Constitution that unreasonably restrict these rights by today's standards. The institute of the constitutional court has to be established. The reason for this is that the processes of our political life, the problems these create, the shortcomings of our legal system, gaps that are not easy or quick to bridge, require decisions. What is more, they require decisions undebatable from the point of view of constitutionalism.

At the moment we do not have an organization that could decide such matters with the appropriate expertise, proper freedom, the dignity arising from its members being competent and free, and the authority resulting from all this—all in the spirit of the objectives of the new constitution.

If I now ask the esteemed assembly to amend the Constitution, in accordance with former proposals, I do not do this because I wish to interfere with the preparations of the new constitution. If possible, I think even less that we should substitute these amendments for the new constitution. However, I have to declare one thing: I wish the amendments to be in the spirit of the Constitution on which we are working. Those elements I am now proposing already sketch the picture of the new constitution. I would also like to add here, esteemed National Assembly, that until the acceptance of the new constitution the government does not ask for any further amendments of the present Constitution. With one exception, that is: Preceding the formulation of the new electoral law, with special regard to the lessons taught us by the social debate, the esteemed house will have to decide in a few matters without which this law cannot be formulated. The formulation of the electoral law cannot be postponed for after the accepting of the constitution. The time-consuming nature of the preparations for the elections makes this impossible.

I would like also to announce that on this occasion, when we come before the esteemed house for amending the Constitution, the government will also submit, on the basis of the debate in the National Assembly, the constitutional amendment regarding the motion of no confidence, together with the proposals for the connected law amendments. In view of the other proposals which have already been mentioned, the earliest date this can take place is 31 March.

The draft bill regarding the amendment of the Constitution submitted on this occasion contains amendments necessary for establishing a constitutional court, the regulation of referenda at the level of law, as well as the amendments, the need for which was shown during preparations for the draft bills on modernization of the procedures of the National Assembly, the law of association and the law of assembly, and the amendment which will make possible the introduction of alternative civilian service in place of the obligation of military service. Besides this, the proposal will provide, in line with the demands which have arisen in practice, the possibility, through amending the Constitution, for towns and villages to establish joint councils.

I will speak later about the amendments regarding the National Assembly procedures and the regulation of the laws of assembly and association. After all, these questions will also be debated at this session within the framework of the present agenda point.

The proposals regarding the establishment of a constitutional court and the modification of the regulations regarding compulsory military service deserve special emphasis.

It follows, from the social demand for further development of regulations for the protection of legality and constitutionality and from the fundamental goals directed at the development of a constitutional state, that a constitutional court has to be established. What justifies the establishment of the constitutional court prior to the creation of the new constitution is that, as I have already indicated, there is a need to deal with the contradictions which can be expected to arise before the approval of the new constitution, as well as in several areas of the present constitutional and Civil Code regulations.

Further, laws of such legal and political importance will be created whose content and practical application can be made the subject of debate from the constitutional point of view. In accordance with this, the scope of authority of the constitutional court will be wider than that of the presently functioning Constitutional Council. Thus, for example, the scope of authority of this constitutional court will very probably extend to evaluating various complaints relating to the elections, as well as to some of the legal debates regarding the realisation of human rights.

One has to expect the latter to appear, if only as a result of the Hungarian People's Republic's ratification of the facultative memorandum connected to Article 41 of the International Treaty on Civil and Political Rights on 7 September 1988. In this, as from 7 December 1988, it has approved the authority of the Committee on Human Rights to act as a committee ascertaining the facts of complaints by persons belonging to other participant states or by persons belonging to the legal authority of the Hungarian People's Republic, and that our citizens, having exhausted the domestic possibilities of obtaining their rights, should be able to submit their complaints to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights.

In line with all this, the draft bill sets out the fundamental regulations regarding the organization and tasks of the constitutional court, referring to the fact that a separate law deals with the organization and function of the constitutional court.

Naturally, it might be asked why we do not solve the task of constitutional adjudication within the framework of normal judiciary work, as we are planning to do in the case of the administrative courts. During the preparatory work we analyzed the interconnections of the various solutions with their legal characteristics, traditions, and the legal and political culture of different societies. It is on this basis that we reached the conclusion that for the characteristics of the Hungarian legal system, its legal and political culture, in which, unfortunately, the judiciary has never functioned with a social weight and

prestige that could be compared to that of the other two branches of power, the most appropriate solution would be one which is already functioning demonstrably well in societies which have developed a legal and political culture which in many ways possesses similar features. This is an independent constitutional court, one which is independent also from the judiciary organisation.

Naturally, only the basic principles of this institution are desired in the constitution; as I have indicated, the details will be regulated by a separate law.

Esteemed house, in the interest of promoting the full assertion of freedom of conscience and religion, an amendment of the Constitution's provision pertaining to national defense obligations is justified. For the citizens who, for reasons of conscience or religion, do not undertake armed, or military, service, it is necessary to guarantee the possibility for them to fulfill their defense obligation in the framework of civilian service.

In this connection, I should like to point out that this constitutional regulation and the associated law created a quite exceptional situation; there are very many countries in Europe, to mention only France or Switzerland, where there is no such possibility, and those who refuse to fulfil military service can be, and are, penalized with very tough prison sentences. Thus, it is not a question of the Hungarian PR wishing to join onto some kind of generally accepted regulation, but one of being among the first ranks of European countries, in this regard, to decide on an intensified safeguarding of freedom of conscience and religion.

For the creation of a constitutional court and for the introduction of alternative military service, alongside an amendment of the Constitution, naturally the creation of a new law and the amendment to the Defense Law are also necessary. For this reason, the proposal entrusts to a separate law the implementation of the relevant provisions.

Therefore, the amendment to the Constitution which is now adopted, regarding the constitutional court and the alternative to military service, will come into force if the aforementioned laws are brought into existence. This means that the Constitution Law Council will continue to operate until the relevant laws come into force. The submission of laws to determine the details, and to also bring into force the aforementioned amendments, can be expected by the summer session, at the soonest [corrects himself], at the latest, but it is possible that we will be able to accomplish this task sooner.

Esteemed National Assembly, with your permission, I now turn to the introduction of the draft law on the right of association. This proposal, together with draft law on the right of assembly, can be viewed as the first, genuinely concrete, step in the reform of the political system and toward accomplishing constitutional statehood. It is of symbolic value that the beginning of the legislative

process which is planned in the interest of achieving these goals is constituted by the regulation of these two rights which belong among the most basic human rights, the rights of association and assembly.

The social debate on the draft laws, which on occasion was sharp, but fruitful, was a significant event of our public life, which is undergoing renewal. It scarcely needs proof, bearing in mind the proposals submitted to the National Assembly, that the experiences and results of the social debate have been extensively used by us; the submitted draft laws considerably differ from the drafts which were released for social debate.

Under the impact of the social debate, the regulation was simplified; indeed it was further simplified, as compared to the submitted text, on the basis of the committee's proposal as indicated by the report of the Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee. The possibility of exercising these two rights became more concrete and more unequivocal.

I am of the opinion that these two draft laws and the democratic method of preparing them can strengthen trust, and they can promote the forming of social consensus.

Esteemed House, the right of association and the right of assembly are two rights which are closely linked, whose regulation basically determines the citizens' participation in public life; the way they are regulated is an important measure of the democracy of society. The right of association and the right of assembly are people's inalienable rights, which, in a democratic society, can only be subjected to sensible restrictions that are necessary in the interest of safeguarding society and its members. However, it follows from this that the basic idea of their regulation is that rights cannot be absolute or unrestricted; the exercise of these rights can only be restricted by the interests safeguarded by penal law, and the rights and freedoms of others. I shall return later in greater detail to this restricting factor.

The draft law on the right of association determines, with consideration of all these, the contents of this right, the method of exercising it, its guarantees, and legal restrictions. For lack of authorization regarding creation of a legal regulation for general implementation, these stipulations are exclusive; they cannot be altered by other legal regulations.

The length of the draft bill shows that in the course of the preparatory work, we endeavored, paying consideration to the social debates as well, to avoid overregulation, unjustified state interference in the practice of the law of association. Thus, the draft bill takes as its point of departure the basic principle that the law of association is a fundamental right of freedom, which the state does not give as a gift, but which is the right of everyone, without conditions or differentiation, on the basis of the sovereignty of the people.

The content is regulated, determined by the draft bill, so that on the basis of the right of association everyone is entitled to create organizations with others, communities which do not reach the organizational level of organizations, and to participate in their activities.

In this respect the planned regulation does not prescribe any compulsory organizational forms; it leaves it to the founders to decide what type of organization they wish to establish. These organizations can be established to pursue any activity that is in line with the Constitution and that is not prohibited by any law. In this respect the draft bill establishes only two specific restrictions. One is that an armed body cannot be established on the basis of the law of association. This hardly needs a detailed explanation. The second is that a social organization cannot be founded with the primary purpose of pursuing economic entrepreneurial activities. The justification for this is that personal associations for this purpose can be formed on the basis of the law on economic associations.

Compared to earlier regulations, the draft bill considerably simplifies the regulation of the establishment of organizations founded on the basis of the right of association. There are only three conditions prescribed as regards the founding of organizations. These are as follows: At least 10 founding members announce the founding of the organization, the statutes are laid down, and the representational organs of management are elected. Following this, the social organization can ask to be registered. However, the registration is the condition not of the founding, but of its becoming a legal entity. Consequently, registration by the courts cannot be denied as long as the founders have met the stipulations laid down in the law.

In connection with the statutes of the social organization, the rights and obligations of the members, and the organizational structure of the social organization, the draft bill lays down only those minimal requirements—in a mere two paragraphs—which are indispensable for becoming a legal entity, and which provide the guarantee for the internal functioning of the social organization being based on democratic, self-governing principles.

Esteemed house, in the debate over the proposal, and since its submission, there have been debates over the extent and depth of the regulations relating to the internal life of the social organizations. There have been views put forward according to which these regulations in the draft bill have a paternalistic character, since, let me quote a newspaper article: Regulations of this type are needed in the civil code. If those forming an association forget to come to an agreement on some important issue, the debate will be determined by the stipulations of the law. A social organization, however, has no need for crutches of this sort. End of quote.

It is beyond doubt that although during the framing of the regulations of the right of association—and even more in the course of the debate on it—the public law

approach was dominant, not every social organization is of a public law character. On the contrary, in the case of the overwhelming majority of associations, the civic law conditions are the most significant. After all, the overwhelming majority of associations are founded for the purpose of realizing goals of a civic law character. However, a unified regulation has been prepared precisely so that—taking the relevant international agreements as our point of departure—we should not discriminate between the various forms, and so that the legislation should endeavor to grasp that which is common in them. I think that the regulations which are the minimal conditions for being regarded as a legal entity can hardly be regarded as paternalistic. This is even more so since some of the regulations come to the fore only where the statutes of the organization otherwise do not provide stipulations, or provide no stipulations at all, on the given issue.

Compared to earlier regulations, the draft bill bases on new principles the regulation of state supervision over the organizations established on the basis of the right of association. It abolishes the possibility of the organs of state administration exercising any general legal or professional supervision over the social organizations. In the sense of the draft bill, the legality of the functioning of the social organization is checked by the prosecuting organs, but beyond this, the scope of authority of the prosecuting organs extends only to calling on the social organization to restore the situation of legality or, if that does not happen, it can turn to the courts in order to restore the situation of legality.

In the interest of ensuring legality, only the courts can bring in judgments compulsory for the social organizations on the basis of actions by the prosecuting organs. The scope of authority of the courts moves along a wide scale, depending on the nature of the transgression of the law. It extends from nullifying the decision of the social organ which transgresses the law, to abolishing the social organization.

It must be noted, however, that social organizations can also pursue activity which the legal regulation binds to conditions, or otherwise regulates. Naturally, these legal regulations, similarly to other legal entities and private persons, also set the guidelines for social organizations. That is why the proposal lays down, according to meaning, that the competent state organs exercise supervision, with the application of regulations pertaining to official control, over such activity of the social organizations.

In connection with the management of social organizations, the draft law determines the most basic regulations: the limited liability of social organizations; the sources of their property; and that the social organization, in order to ensure the economic conditions for achieving its goals, can also undertake economic entrepreneurial activity. The detailed, mainly financial, regulations pertaining to such activity are established by the Council of Ministers.

I would like to call to your attention that this is the sole case in which the proposal gives authorization for provisions of implementation. [Word indistinct] the provision also contains—which I have already emphasized—that the law cannot be supplemented with so-called legal regulations of implementation. In the event of the social organization ceasing to exist, the proposal refers to making provisions over its property to the exclusive jurisdiction of the social organization. The property becomes state property exclusively if the social organization has not made provision regarding the allocation of its property before it ceases to exist. Thus, the property of social organizations which becomes state property must be turned to public interest objectives, and the method of its utilization must be made public.

Finally, some thoughts on the regulation pertaining to political parties: I have mentioned that the proposal does not determine, with a claim to exclusiveness, the kinds of organizations that come into being on the basis of the right of association; it only lists a few, by way of allusion. It follows from this that the proposal's provisions pertain to every organization that comes into being on the basis of the right of association. However, the endeavor for a unified and equal regulation cannot disregard the social reality that there are considerable differences between the organizations as regards their social significance, their function, their political weight, and so forth. This justifies the establishment of regulations, which differ in part, and which pertain to political parties and trade unions.

The proposal declares that a political party can be created on the basis of the right of association. The political party is a type of organization that can come into being on the basis of the right of association, one which is of outstanding importance, and which bears numerous characteristics. One of these characteristics is that the contents of the detailed regulation pertaining to political parties is basically influenced by its role in the political system, by the regulation of the system of representation and the election system. For this reason, the shaping of the entire regulation pertaining to political parties cannot be torn out of the complex reregulation of the political system, taking place in the framework of the new constitution.

Taking these into consideration, according to the proposal the provisions of the Constitution will set the guidelines for a political party's role in society, and in harmony with this, there will be a possibility for some provisions, which differ from the current proposal, for the creation of a separate law containing regulations on the formation of political parties, their registration, their supervision, and their ceasing to exist. The elaboration of this law has begun. After it has been prepared, in the process of customary legislation it will be put to social debate, and the government will submit the final variant, shaped on the basis of the lessons of the debate, to the National Assembly.

A standpoint has appeared in the course of debate according to which such a separate law is unnecessary, or unlawful. It is unnecessary because there already exists a general law pertaining to association, if this is adopted. In that case, why is a separate regulation necessary? It is unlawful because it amounts to discrimination, which is prohibited by international agreements that we, too, have signed, namely and primarily, the second paragraph and Point of the 22d paragraph of the civil and political rights' convention document.

I have already justified that this is necessary. As regards the unlawfulness—well, let us read these paragraphs, moreover, in their full text. The second paragraph of the mentioned convention reads thus: Every state partaking in the convention's document commits itself to respect and to guarantee, for every person staying on its territory and falling under its jurisdiction, the rights recognized in the convention's document, without any discrimination, namely, without drawing distinction according to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or situation regarding property or birth.

Point two of the paragraph [as heard]: The states partaking in the document of the convention commit themselves, in harmony with their constitutional procedures and with the provisions of the convention's document, to ensure the passing of legislative or other measures necessary for the assertion of the rights recognized in the convention's document, insofar as these might not yet be in force.

Point One of the 22d Article [as heard]: Everyone has the right to associate freely with others, including the right, for the purpose of safeguarding his rights, to be able to form or join a trade union.

The second issue: In a democratic society the exercising of this right can only be subjected to restrictions, established by the law, that are necessary for the security of the state, public safety and order, public morality, and the rights and freedoms of others. This article does not obstruct the lawful restriction of these rights being exercised by the police and the armed forces. This is where the complete text of the agreement document ends as regards the quoted problem.

What I cannot see in the text is the measure, mentioned during the debate, indicating discrimination. Quite the opposite: In the text of the convention document it is absolutely clear that the prohibition of discrimination refers to individuals exercising the right of association, and not to the type of organizations to be formulated in the future. On the other hand, the weight of the political party can demand, for instance, that it be set up by more than 10 members; that the highest constitutional forum of the country, namely the constitutional court, register it; and it should also be for the court to decide—on the basis of the submitted program, without doubt, and

excluding every possible potentially unwanted influence—whether the planned party organization intends to operate within the framework of the Constitution. It should perhaps also be for the constitutional court to decide on the supervisory proceedings. I do not think that all this should be seen as discrimination in the sense of the cited articles. If anything, it is positive discrimination justified by the party's social significance, the extent of its political vulnerability, and the need for its increased protection by the law.

Let me just mention the FRG, where the 21st paragraph of the law issued on 5 August 1964 reassociations, actually removes political parties from under the control of the law. So much for discrimination.

Another issue thrown up by the debate: Let me emphasize that the proposal, in particular with its measures referring to political parties, solves a political problem, or attempts to solve it, through legal control. The proposal does not consider this desirable.

The legal handling of political problems is of course not alien to constitutional law, not even in societies considered the most democratic. This is because the rules of constitutional law regulate political circumstances. It would be hypocritical to forget this. Besides, a constitutional state does not mean that the law does not regulate political circumstances or, more exactly, that it does not provide them with a framework. What is true, however—and this has already been pointed out by political science—is that not all political circumstances can be dissolved in the law. It is merely a hypothesis, but more like an illusion, that by dissolving politics in the law, one can remove risk from politics.

There are processes that demand a political solution but—and this is the role of the law—one has to provide a framework appropriate to the law and legal solutions in order that the processes of society, together with their consequences, progress in an orderly fashion, without the fear of legal order, thus making the resulting contradictions and tensions possible to handle. In my opinion, the proposal follows this road exactly. It does not solve anything outside politics, but it provides the necessary legal framework for the solution.

The reason for the exceptions referring to the trade unions is the unconditional securing of trade union autonomy, also stated in the international agreements on the subject.

Esteemed National Assembly, there are states which follow this particular path. One such state is the United States, whose Constitution's First Amendment expressly forbids Congress to bring in laws regarding, among other things, the peaceful assembly of citizens. There is no possibility, therefore, for further regulating by law. Consequently the authorities, when they regard it as necessary, endeavor to regulate assemblies in various ways, according to what they regard as best. Though the U.S.

Supreme Court has declared these endeavors to be unconstitutional, nonetheless, there are exceptions. Let me appeal to your patience as regards mentioning a single such case, namely the [word indistinct] New Hampshire case of 1942, where the Supreme Court declared that there were easily defined expressions which did not enjoy the protection of the Constitution in the course of street demonstrations. The essence of this—and this is the most important lesson for us as well—is that in a legal system of this sort, which is deficient in legal regulation, it is the practice of the constitutional court to develop the necessary limits.

Other states, however, do regulate, and, moreover, regulate in detail. I could refer, for example, to the FRG, to the federal law of 24 July 1953 regarding assembly and demonstrations, which, compared to our draft bill now being submitted, is far more detailed and, let me add, in many respects, contains restrictions and regulations which are more strict in many ways. I could also refer to a similar Austrian federal law, which was also created in 1953, and which was amended on 26 October 1968.

There are also states where the details of regulations, besides at the level of the law, appear elsewhere, where the interior minister and the police have a wide sphere of authority to take measures. French legislation is of this sort, as far as I know. I would like to make it clear, however, just as earlier, that it is not to justify the method of regulation adopted in the submitted draft bill, but for the sake of comparative examples that I have referred to these countries and laws.

The need for regulating derives on the one hand from the agreement document to which I have already referred, and on the other hand, and this is obvious, from our far from problem-free practice up to now.

Esteemed National Assembly, it can be stated in general that fundamental human rights, among them the practice of the right of assembly, are not realized in an unrestricted way anywhere in the world. They cannot be realized if only because no state can renounce the protection of the most important social and state interests, not least guaranteeing the rights and freedom of others. As I have indicated, this is a problem to which I will return.

It argues against an unregulated situation that a lack of regulation is not reassuring, either from the viewpoint of practicing the right of assembly or from the viewpoint of the state organs' tasks. A lack of regulation does not offer security for the citizen; after all, it is unclear how, under what conditions, he can exercise his right of assembly. At the same time the situation is not favorable from the authorities viewpoint, because there are no unequivocal legal regulations defining when the authorities might have the right to restrict the exercise of this right.

On the basis of these considerations I feel that it can safely be said that in the interests of legal certainty there is a definite need for regulating the freedom of assembly, as a fundamental right of freedom, on the level of legislation.

The right of assembly, as I have already referred to it in connection with the right of association, is also not a gift of the state, but a fundamental right of freedom to which everyone is entitled, within whose framework peaceful meetings, marches and demonstrations—the draft bill uses the combined term, gatherings—can be held, where the participants can freely express their opinions and where the participants are entitled to convey their jointly formed opinion to those whom it concerns. It follows from this that the free practice of the right of assembly is indivisibly linked to the freedom of speech and the so-called right of petition; after all, without guaranteeing these rights we could not in reality speak about the right of assembly. However, since the subject of the proposal is the right of assembly, neither the freedom of speech nor the right of petition can be dealt with in detail in other contexts, those which fall outside the sphere of the right of assembly.

Esteemed National Assembly. It was said in the social debate, as a criticism, that the draft bill is on the one hand excessively restrictive in nature, and, on the other hand, it was said that it is excessively liberal. These critical observations cannot be interpreted in either form. This is so for two reasons. On the one hand the regulation follows the principle that that which is not forbidden by the law is permitted. In accordance with this, to void any misunderstanding, the draft bill expressly excludes from its scope those gatherings to which even these regulations do not apply.

From another aspect, it is also impossible to interpret because, to quote, the excessively restrictive or the excessively liberal character are subjective statements. I would like to draw attention once more to the FRG law, which establishes far more restrictions, without even mentioning the French practice. Moreover, in the treaty documents there are also several restrictions which are indeed open to subjective interpretation. There are, however, also more liberal regulations, in connection with which there is a considerable danger of arbitrary interpretation.

According to the proposal, the restriction on exercising the right of assembly is that one cannot carry out a crime or threaten to commit a crime, and that it cannot entail the infringement of others' rights and freedom.

A further basic condition for exercising this right, as laid down in nearly every constitution and by international law, is that it be of a peaceful character. Here I return to the term: others' rights and freedoms. In the debate there emerged an argument, which sounded a bit strange to me, a jurist, according to which this allusion to others' rights and freedom is senseless because from the outset

the right of assembly can only be realized with the infringement of others' rights. For example, street traffic: It is a man's serious right—I put this in quotes—that he be able to travel along a street; without exception, every demonstration disturbs him. However, such reasoning says little to me.

Not to say that this term figures in the same convention document which has other paragraphs to which people voicing the above views refer in agreement. Either we accept a document, or we do not. But this reasoning is also empty, because on its basis there would be only one right which could be exercised regardless of the infringement of others' rights, and that is the right of assembly. What justifies this? Why should the apparent majority have to suffer a disproportionate infringement of rights? Since there has been reference to traffic, allow me to quote the first paragraph of the proposal's sixth clause, which is precisely—I quote—assembly entailing a disproportionate violation of the order of traffic. But more generally: It is possible to avail oneself of every right, and to abuse every right. Law always ensures rights which are used according to purpose. And here, obviously, it is a matter of proportion, of the coordination of various rights, in given cases of abusing rights.

I have already alluded to the social, and political-cultural interconnections of assemblies, demonstrations, and I have pointed out that this right possibly may be used as a tool of people in disadvantaged situations, if not for any reason, then precisely from the viewpoint of expressing political interests. It becomes truly significant if at the given time and in the political culture, or stemming from the nature of problems, there are too few opportunities to use other political tools. Interpreted in this context, the expression: Infringement of others' rights and freedom, is a matter of proportions, and can be satisfactorily handled legally. If there are debates in the judgement of proportions—and there will be, because they are possible—it is the purpose of judicial practice to form the correct scale.

In order that the lawful exercise of the right of assembly, according to purpose, is ensured, the proposal binds the exercise of the right of assembly, if it takes place in public areas, to preliminary notification. I wish to emphasize: it is not the goal of this notification that the state administrative organ, in a given case—the police, permit the event. The exercise of the right of assembly, as a basic freedom right, does not require preliminary administrative approval. However, notification provides the possibility for the administrative organs, primarily the police, to prepare for exercising the right of assembly, that is, for ensuring that public order and traffic is undisturbed.

In connection with notification, I have to mention that the proposal, in a narrow circle and exceptionally, ensures the police an opportunity, in the event of set conditions, to prohibit the holding of an event at the

place and time indicated in the notification. In connection with this, I would like to emphasize that this prohibition does not place a restriction, generally, on the exercise of the right of assembly, or on the holding of a planned event, since the event could be held, but not at the location and time indicated in the notification. Thus, the prohibition is expressly aimed only at an event not being held at a specific place or time.

The proposal otherwise provides satisfactory guarantees in the interest of safeguarding the free exercise of the right of assembly, since it ensures an immediate appeal to a court against the decision banning the holding of an event. The court, naturally, can change the decision of the administrative organ if it judges it to be unlawful.

Esteemed National Assembly, the organization and holding of an event requires, on the part of the organizers, intensified attention, care, and responsibility. Accordingly, it is primarily the task of the organizers to ensure order at the event. However, at their request, the police and other competent organs can collaborate in this. In this connection, I wish to make you aware that the police's role in maintaining order is not directed basically at possibly dispersing the event, but at ensuring the free exercise of the right of assembly, free of external influence. It is in this interest that, for example, traffic is diverted, or, in the case of a counter demonstration—because that is also possible—possible atrocities are prevented.

The proposal also provides the gathering's participants with the possibility to debate the justification of breaking up the gathering before a court of law, should this occur.

Esteemed National Assembly. During the course of the debate and the administrative verification of the proposal some suggestions appeared that we did contemplate, but eventually decided to reject. One of these, for example, was the announcement about meetings held in enclosed spaces. There are countries where it is compulsory to announce these, too, in advance, for instance in the FRG despite all this, the government has decided only to make it compulsory to announce gatherings to be held in public areas. According to general rules, obviously, it is forbidden also in enclosed spaces to commit a crime or initiate one, simply because such action is not allowed by the penal code. If the authorities learn of such action they are compelled to prosecute.

It would be very difficult, however, to establish, in practice, the conditions potentially necessary for the lawful restriction of something like that, or to draw the line, in general. It would similarly be problematic to regulate the participation and behavior of foreigners during the course of a gathering. It would be impossible to halt them since the right of assembly is not a civil right, but a human right. Its regulation has to be the same

as it is in the case of Hungarian citizens—although, for instance in Austria, there are aspects of the law applying only to foreigners. In a word, it would create unsolvable problems.

Esteemed National Assembly. In my view it is clear from what has been said that the proposal serves the purpose of making democracy prevail; it promotes the freedom of expressing opinions, and helps the unfolding of widespread activity in the realm of public life.

It is on the basis of all this that I ask the esteemed National Assembly to accept the proposed bills.

Berecz Address to Assembly

*LD1001212689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1347 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz to the National Assembly—live]

[Text] Dear fellow representatives, esteemed National Assembly: Today we are laying the foundation stones for the pillars of modern Hungarian constitutional statehood. In recent years, many people have spoken in this country, in many kinds of ways, about the self-organizing construction work from the bottom of society. However, the two draft laws under debate signify the first real guarantee that this self-organizing wish of society will become a right. Here we must also mention the fact that political encouragement for the creation of these laws was given by the MSZMP national conference held last May.

The preparation of this draft law was carried out in a truly democratic way. The large and important social organizations, the representatives of alternative views, and citizens were all able to assert their views too. This debate—and we should declare this before the National Assembly too—is of great significance politically. On key points it amended—changed if you like—the draft laws to make them more democratic and more precise for our social organization and development.

Esteemed house, while we are debating draft laws, we must also be aware that it is a matter of a fundamental question of politics: power, the manner of a modern power setup, and the method of exercising power. Whose is power in reality? Who wants to have a modern setup? Here, before the National Assembly, we can declare that power does not belong to the party, nor does it belong to the government; it does not even belong to one single social class either. According to our constitution, power belongs to the working people. The manner of exercising this power and the development, modernization, and democratization of its institutions is the concern of the community in the real sense of the word.

The MSZMP's role as the leading party leads to the demands that it recognize the mature political needs of society, formulate these as its own aim too, and act in the

interests of Hungarian progress. We can declare with a sufficient basis that the MSZMP recognized its responsibility as one party and initiated the drive to incorporate into the system political competition in a legally guaranteed way.

Is this a present from the party to the people? Or is it due to them as a basic right? I unequivocally say the latter. I say this also when certain people ask inside and outside the party: Are the people ready for this? Is Hungarian society prepared for such a degree of democracy? Our party states—albeit somewhat late—that Hungarian society for a long time has not been just mature enough, but even capable of building a democratic, socialist political system, of taking action, and participating in politics. We argue with those who say that because of the so-called unpreparedness or passivity of our society, it is incapable of this. Are not the events of the past months which we have behind us, the plans for the future—moreover our present parliamentary debate too—a cogent refutation of this statement? Doubts can be caused in some people, not without foundation, by the question of whether our society can cope with expertise in the practise of democracy. It must be said that society was for a long time restricted in acquiring and gaining expertise. Now, together with the law, it is creating for itself the conditions for gaining expertise. The party is not just a partner in this, but an active initiator.

The acceptance of these draft laws opens a further indispensable—of course still not sufficient—field for society to really participate in the exercise of power.

On the basis of experience, we cannot delude ourselves into thinking that our current institutions will act within defined limits, despite their rhetoric. The model up to now, despite the intentions voiced, was insufficiently capable of setting limits. This is why legal guarantees are needed, so that the intention becomes reality.

Esteemed National Assembly, the demand to organize, represent interests, and to assemble is present in society not just in political communities, but in a much wider circle than that. This embraces everything from environmental protection to the broader manifestations of charitable and cultural aspirations and other forms of self-expression by the public.

We must ensure, in both national and local public life alike, that every attempt at association and assembly receives the same chance, within the legal framework, to reflect a point of view. This is also an organic part of man's attempt at self-fulfillment, and in a modern society—above all if, according to our intentions, it is directed by socialist principles—it is indispensable.

Just for this reason, we are also creating a new guarantee so that organizations which are anticonstitutional, based on racism, the incitement of hatred between peoples, anti-semitism—even those espousing views which endanger peace—are able to be created.

In our society today, various forces have and are going into motion to remove the obstacles which stand before our homeland's ascent and the advance of national progress. These forces can carry out their organizational efforts on the basis of the draft laws now being debated. In this way, the conditions can be created for the various movements to participate in an institutionalized form, with equal rights and as partners in a new national consensus.

Amid these circumstances too, we can begin work to build political contacts with these movements, dialogue, negotiations, cooperation, moreover, even the possibilities of creating a coalition. Setting such an aim for ourselves is today a reality and a fundamental requirement for resurgence.

In the course of developing Hungarian society, progressive, left-wing thinking has a determining position, and this can be stated for the overwhelming majority of the new movements. For the new national consensus we must interpret leftism in light of our present conditions, beyond class aspects. In my opinion, the organic creative elements of the left wing seen in this way are not just the political forces organized on a workers movement basis, but are also the left wing in a civilian society. We state that intentions formulated in other directions, ideologies, and world views can also be allies within the frameworks offered by the new national consensus.

The development of our political relations in this way can serve the interests of the country and modernization if it is not a consequence of an artificial action and not ordered from above, but an organic development. As a consequence of this, the new national consensus is a process built over a longer time and through debates, and can group together Hungarian progressive forces.

It is my conviction that only in this way can we manage to confront conflicts peacefully and progress in the direction of renewing socialist society.

From here too, we call on everyone with a sense of political responsibility to participate in developing the new national consensus. This is the only suitable framework and condition for building the new political system.

It is my judgment that alongside the traditional social organizations—taking into account also the renewal of these—are, among others, the Hungarian Democratic forum, the New March Front, certain youth organizations, the Smallholders which are being organized, the Peter Veres Society, the Federation of Free Democrats, the Ferenc Muennich Society, and several other kinds of associations.

In creating the new national consensus the MSZMP and the movements, and later on the parties which will be allowed can work together.

One of the thoughts of very great importance about the draft law which is before us concerns the question of the multiparty system. The MSZMP's stand at its party conference and of its other bodies is known. According to this, it considers political pluralism, operating within the framework of the one-party system, suitable to serve social development in the present situation.

At the same time, our party has also taken a stand stating that opportunities must be ensured for fulfilling those demands for other parties.

We must clearly recognize that under a constitutional system, the creation of parties is not just a matter of a social demand, but simply depends on whether somebody wants to form a party or not, on the basis of a valid legal regulation. Such a group, however—and this is determining—will only really become a party in a political sense if its social weight, politics, influence, and program makes it suitable for this. Precisely for this reason, the drafting of the party law, the essence of which is the development of a different political structure going beyond the present one, is not simply a question of cleverness in legal affairs. Here and now, the political responsibility felt for the fate of the nation is primary and gives the direction.

Hungarian society cannot be excluded from this political responsibility. It has a right, my esteemed fellow representatives, to prepare for the decisive and practical implementation of questions which affect its own fate.

We must be clear about the fact that the product of the social debate on a draft law now lies before us; it has been summarized in this draft law. The reference to drafting a party law also contains the views of significant political science workshops outside the party. It is worth considering: Can parliament try to go beyond on a significant point the results to date of the social debate? Taking this into consideration, on a question of such importance such as the legal frameworks for the party system, it would not be advisable to make a decision in days or hours. For what does this question involve? Not just the mere existence of parties in time and space, but the creation of public law, financial support, registration, and other conditions indispensable for their functioning and guaranteed by law.

We must have a party law which is politically founded, leaving time also for social debate.

We also understand the fears that perhaps such efforts may be made and then drafting the law will be postponed, perhaps even suppressed. Our party resolutely opposes beating about the bush; it takes a stand against unprincipled dragging of feet.

At the December session of the Central Committee, the party formulated an opinion that the creation of the party law should be adjusted in accordance with the

Constitution. Starting out from all these, and knowing the worries, it seems realistic that the party law will be put before parliament within a year, even at the end of the year.

In the overwhelming majority of the alternative movements and societies which have come into being, they emphasize the necessity of the existence of several parties, but in the present situation they do not yet wish to become a party. This is the standpoint today of all standard-setting alternative social and political movements. It is not an exaggeration, therefore, to say that, with reference to the political situation today, regarding the founding of parties there is no real difference of opinion between the party and the standard-setting alternative movements. Put in other words, no significant political force demands the formation of parties within weeks, in a hasty manner.

We acknowledge with joy that the standard-setting social political movements, with regard to the prospects of forming parties, are not looking for confrontation. They themselves also support an organic development ensuring a suitable transition.

The demand for an excessively hasty dash forward—despite its good intentions, contrary to its original intentions, and despite its wish—caused a series of reactions endangering exactly that which it wished to collectively support. Opposition born of incomprehension or fear would activate the extremes. The appearance of those would at once revive the danger of any kind of going back to the old order and would nurture an intensified power struggle. Such kinds of processes would primarily endanger the forces which wish to serve Hungarian socialist progress within the frameworks of national consensus on the path to reform.

I propose that, on the basis of the thorough debate and consideration, we accept the government's proposal to pass the draft law and the report and proposals of the Assembly's Legal, Administrative, and Judicial Committee. We acknowledge the good intentions of those who worry and those who want us to act more quickly. Among other things, we also confirm the creation, within a justified set time limit, of the party law. Thank you for your attention.

Session Continues 11 Jan

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[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—The session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued with the summary of proposals related to the bills on the rights of association and assembly Wednesday morning.

Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar answered to what had been said in the debate. After the modification of the rules of parliament is discussed, interpolations and questions will be made.

Some MPs are expected to propose that parliament should pass a decision on the fate of people who escaped from Romania to Hungary.

Approves Bill on Right of Association

*LD1101121989 Budapest MTI in English
1140 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—The National Assembly, taking the answer of the minister of justice and the proposals for modification of the legal, administrative and judicial commission into account, approved the bill on the right of association with 6 votes against and 24 abstentions. Accordingly, the Law on Association makes it possible to found political parties but the foundation, registration, supervision and winding up of parties will be regulated by the stipulations of the party law to be put forward to parliament not later than August 1, 1989.

Kulcsar Reviews Bill Debates

*LD1101152889 Budapest MTI English
1300 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—Summing up the deputies' proposals and contributions, Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar said that the government had modified some paragraphs of the Law on Association. According to the final version and in compliance with the request of Eva Balla and other MPs, only those will be punishable who are taking part in the leadership of an organization that has been dissolved by court.

As to the political parties, Mr Kulcsar said, the government rejected the proposal by Frigyes Puja (former foreign minister) that the possibility of establishing political parties should be excluded from the bill. Nor could the government accept the proposal raised by some deputies that there was no need for a separate law to regulate the foundation of political parties. Giving the grounds for the refusal, Mr Kulcsar said that the emergence and foundation of political parties was not a legal issue. Law had the task to give a framework for the development of political organizations, he said.

The minister referred to the so-called pressure parties that could use their influence for shaping the policy of the ruling parties and the work of the government. Political organizations can fulfill this function even if they do not declare themselves parties.

The minister stressed: It is not the case that the government fears something and if it gives something with one hand then it pulls at the reins with the other at once. The government will present to parliament a party bill after an appropriate public debate, not later than August 1, 1989. This time is required by all since the political parties have to be integrated in the political system. It is also required by the organizations which would define themselves as political parties, the minister of justice said.

With regard to the proposal by MP Karoly Toth, reformed bishop, to provide separate protection for the use of church terminology, the minister said that this just demand is met by the relevant paragraph of the bill. To avoid misunderstanding and to safeguard church interests, the explanation of the bill will cover in detail this problem, ensuring identical interpretation of the law for all.

The government decree on the local management of associations, including sports clubs, will also be completed shortly, and the government undertakes to present its draft beforehand to the parliament committee on youth and sports.

Finally, Mr Kulcsar requested MPs to adopt the bill, with the promise of the government to present the party law to the National Assembly by August 1, 1989.

Following, the presiding Istvan Stadinger drew the attention of MPs to the fact that the minister outlined his position in accordance with the latest stand of the Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee.

Voting covered first the modifications and then the various paragraphs of the law. The Law on Association was approved by 6 votes against and 24 abstentions.

MPs approved that the law stipulates the right of party formation, but leaves detailed regulation to a separate party law to be presented to parliament by August 1 at latest.

Berez Interview on Alternative Groups

*LD1001221789 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Interview with Central Committee Secretary Janos Berez by unidentified correspondent at the National Assembly in Budapest on 10 January—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Now we present my interview with Janos Berez, given the last interval today.

If I understood your contribution correctly, then today, here for the first time not at a party forum, the party extended a friendly hand to the alternative organizations, for the Hungarian consensus?

[Berez] It is true that we presented ourselves for the first time not at a party forum, but what must be taken into consideration is that the party's policy is not now developed only by the Politburo or a few Central Committee secretaries, but that these questions first had to be considered by party public opinion. And, when we received the support for us to declare a new national consensus, solidarity, then we had to examine which of those organizations on the one hand wanted this, and on the other hand which ones we too would have talks with.

The situation, the period has reached the point now when we accept the law on association; we have named a series of organizations with which we would gladly conduct a dialogue, if possible an agreement, or to try for unity, moreover to create the possibilities for a coalition too.

[Correspondent] These alternative organizations have recently complained rather a lot about the party not talking to them.

[Berez] We said clearly that we would wait for the law, for the legislation, for this will be the legal basis on which they function. Despite this, we did not ban them, nor did we initiate any kind of proceedings with the authorities against them. We will wait for the legislation, and on the basis of the law, and within the framework of this, then in front of the country we will make the offer, just as we have made the initiative.

[Correspondent] On one particular point—I think—many deputies are in dispute with you. Namely, many deputies have raised the point that this law of association is not unified in this way and many—using serious arguments—urge the creation of this party act.

[Berez] In my view the inner logic must exist for the creation of a new system of political institutions; it must have its underlying principle and sufficient time for it. Regarding its inner logic two paths could be chosen. First, that we start by legislating a new constitution, the constitution as a legal framework is fully complete, for it is that which must be fully complete, no other single law is fully complete; and then we break down and build under this completed roof the various pillars, walls, decorations, that is, the law guaranteeing rights.

We have chosen a different path. First we should go through the legislation—and the preparation of the new constitution is underway already—so that it should be unified in spirit. One deputy likes this path the other likes the other path, but it is now this which is taking place in practice, for it is likely that we shall complete this process with the constitution and not with legislation because the national Assembly will be needed in the future too. This is the logic of it, while its principles...[incomplete sentence as heard]

We have to review a series of our ideological tenets. You could hear that today too. I did not say that the main strength of the exercise of power is the party, but I said that the power belongs to the working people as is ensured in the constitution, that is, it does not belong to the party or the government.

This had to be announced, it had to mature within ourselves, it had to be announced that it is not the party which is the left wing. All such civil society forces wanting progress, wanting to advance and which undertake responsibility for the fate of the nation are on the

left—in the normal and healthy interpretation—we consider these to be on the left already, as I say in the classic meaning of the term. Thus, this too had to be mature, had to be announced. In other words a good number of our basic principles must be examined.

Third [as heard], I said that time was needed. This is something that must not be rushed. This is not a matter of announcing today that we have introduced the multiparty system and, well, several people have said here that there are those who are awaiting it impatiently. But there are also those who are impatiently opposing it. Thus, this idea must mature in society and it must come to maturity inside the party as well. After all, there could be opposition in our party as well toward the multiparty system, and what do we do then?

Let us not forget that the May party conference still favored pluralism with one party. In the most recent Central Committee session we said that in its spirit we shall go beyond it in practice, but not in its principles. But for this a little time is needed and for time this party law will be very suitable.

[Correspondent] Your arguments are fully acceptable but what do you think about the remark by Dr Ferenc Kiraly, that this party, namely the MSZMP, now very greatly needs the other parties?

[Berez] There is a need for the other political forces which, or some of which, want to develop into parties in a gradual manner. They do not want to act in haste either. I was sorry that Dr Kiraly spoke after me and not before me, because he argued that the progressive elements of Europe will be disappointed in us, but we are constantly receiving the impulses and messages that, gentlemen, build gradually and not in haste. After all, sometimes it is difficult even for them to follow developments; then how much more difficult it is for Hungarian public opinion. Because, let us be frank, the overwhelming majority perhaps have not even reached the stage of thinking about one or more parties, or alternative organizations, or such expressions.

Thus, the message is that we should build calmly, but in a self-assured manner, and constantly progressing.

New Political Groups Reviewed
LD1101101089 Budapest MTI in English
0802 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—Viewers of Hungarian TV's completely renewed political weekly, 'A Het' (The Week), have had a chance for practically the first time to hear the spokesmen of seven out of the country's nearly 40 new political groups set forth their views and objectives. The following is a slightly shortened version of TV's political guide.

Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)—established on September 27, 1987, this self-styled 'independent spiritual-political movement' now has 10,000 members. It runs 3,000 branches in the provinces. Membership due: FT 200 a year.

Hungarians today witness an inflation of (political) programmes, which are necessarily similar, be it that of the government or, say, the youth association FIDESZ. However, the programme offered by MDF is special because it lays particular emphasis on linking the cause of democracy with that of the nation and its interests.

The MDF does not exclude the possibility of organizing itself into a party, but they deliberately want to avoid taking the same pattern from parties that existed here between 1945 and 1948. Some members of MDF favour a so-called reform-communist trend, while others are adherents of Christian-Democratic principles. And still the movement declares itself free from internal ideological debates. Should MDF turn into a party, it would definitely not become one based on ideology.

Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ)—Formed on March 30, 1988. FIDESZ has 2,500 members and 24 country branches. Membership due: FT 50 per month.

FIDESZ supports the legally guaranteed radical transformation of the country. The young democrats want to play an active role in the codification of the country's new constitution, and they also wish to participate in the social debates preceding the enactment of laws. FIDESZ is working on a political package on employment policy, since unemployment among the young is on the increase. FIDESZ calls for cooperating among the youth organizations which think along similar lines. As regards its links with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, FIDESZ says it is about to become a 'peaceful co-existence'. FIDESZ wants these relations to be governed by exclusively political means, adding that today the party often resorts to means other than political in dealing with them.

Munnich Ferenc Society—Established on November 11, 1988, its membership today stands at 5,500-6,000. It runs 47 county branches. The membership fee varies between FT 10-50 a month.

Since the middle of 1988, they have seen organizations emerge that are rather one-sided in their views, i.e. they reject the past completely. According to the society, the 'bad' part of the past should be discarded, but the 'good' side of socialism should be saved. The society has no intention of becoming a party. The allegedly created Communist Party should not be identified with the society, their spokesman stressed. The HSWP is the only communist party in this country, and its communist qualities would improve parallel with its renewal.

Federation of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)—Date of birth: November 13, 1988. Branches: Five in the country and two worker's groups. Fee: FT 80-120.

The federation wishes to create a pluralistic society. Democracy is the basis of all change: socialism can develop only in democracy, and not against it. They are still working on their comprehensive political programme, which would correspond to a government programme. It will be released following their national congress scheduled for this spring. They want to cooperate primarily with the alternative groups, but they also consider some HSWP members as potential allies. These latter people are those 'with whom it is possible to reach consensus in many respects'.

Social Democratic Youth Circle—November 30, 1988. 100 members, two county branches. No fee.

In domestic policy, they want the division of power, the creation of a multi-party system and the unlimited enforcement of human rights (including minority and social rights). In social policy, they want an efficient market economy, competition and enterprise, and the cutting back of state monopolies. To avoid Hungary becoming a 'country of thrusters', they want a social policy which is definitely not market-principled and which considers the security of existence and human living conditions as basic civil rights. They attach special importance to their ties with the international social democratic movements.

Independent Smallholders' Party—originally established in 1930, it resumed its activity on November 18, 1988. It now has 3,000 members, 24 local branches and a fee of FT 100.

It declares itself as a political party with a comprehensive programme. It gives priority to agrarian policy, but also stresses the need for an economic political concept which could lead the country out of its present situation and would make it possible to increase national production without inflation and without a decrease in living standards.

New March Front—A movement for providing spiritual programmes. Launched last march, it has no membership or fee. On the basis of spiritual sovereignty, its documents are signed by those who agree to it.

The front is pushing for the democratization of society and urges changes in the system of political institutions. They plan to issue a proposal later this month for starting consultations between the alternative groups and the HSWP. They want to continue the evaluation of the recent changes in Hungary's economic policy, and they also want to analyse the historical background of the country's development from 1948 to the present day.

'Dangerous Escalation' in U.S.-Libyan Conflict
AU1001144589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Jan 89 p 6

[Commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski: "A Dangerous Escalation"]

[Text] Regardless of the circumstances, the shooting down of two Libyan aircraft by the U.S. air force, thousands of miles away from America's shores, reflects the menacing nature of the attitude of the United States' military command, an attitude that is menacing not just to Libya. The events above the Mediterranean are indicative of the increase in tension that has followed in the wake of recent announcements about plans to bomb a chemical plant in Libya.

This is the background against which one must take note of the reports carried by the JANA press agency which, citing newspapers published in the United Arab Emirates, state that the United States has been planning an attack on economic targets in Libya for January and that this is to serve as a signal for the commencement of a coup d'etat and the assassination of Al-Qadhafi. According to the same reports, preparations for such an operation are being made in a Western European state and on board ships belonging to America's Sixth Fleet, which is in the Mediterranean.

In light of this, it should be recalled that American aircraft already bombed Libya in 1986 and that plans to assassinate the leader of that country have been uncovered in the United States. Thus, one can talk about the U.S. Administration's policy toward Libya and the entire Mediterranean region being dangerous.

What our newspaper said a few days ago should be repeated, namely, that this type of policy seriously disrupts the international atmosphere and is at variance with the positive processes that are today taking place on every continent.

It is noteworthy that Libya, in rejecting the charge of manufacturing chemical weapons, proposed that an inspection be conducted of the facilities in question. Washington, however, rejected this proposal. Why? We would not like to conclude that it was because of a wish to maintain and incite further tension. However, it is difficult not to do so, especially when we recall that the bombing in 1986 was also preceded by aerial incidents.

There is still time to halt this dangerous course of events that could get out of control. We can hope that appropriate steps will be taken. The Libyans are not alone in hoping that this will happen.

Sekula Receives USSR Trade Delegation
LD0601211289 Warsaw PAP in English
1949 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula received today Soviet Trade Ministry delegation led by Minister Kondrat Terekh.

The sides noted with satisfaction the development of mutual exchange of marketables whose value is expected to grow this year to 350 million roubles from 80 million roubles in 1987.

Direct exchange between enterprises and trade organizations in both countries creates good chances for further dynamic development of cooperation. At present some 340 Polish and Soviet enterprises are engaged in this exchange but their number is to double this year, it was stressed.

Demonstrators Protest Atomic Power
LD1001192289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] A demonstration against the construction of atomic power stations in Poland took place in Lublin with the authorities' agreement. Several dozen persons demanded the freezing of the atomic energy development program. It was claimed that an alternative to a program which is costly and also dangerous to people and the environment is to make more rational use of energy. Several hundred people have signed the letter that the demonstrators intend to send to the Sejm.

Walesa Says Shipyard Workers Threaten Strike
AU1101000789 Paris AFP in English
0003 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 11 (AFP)—Shipyard workers in Gdansk, facing the closure of their yards, are threatening to strike unless management offers some immediate reassurances on their future, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said on Tuesday.

The head of the banned union told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from the northern port that 8,000 of the 11,000 Lenin shipyard workers staged a protest rally on Tuesday and the atmosphere was "tense".

Mr. Walesa said the men were "concerned" about their future and called on the management to come up with "straight answers and fast" otherwise they will "take action," meaning go on strike.

The workers also want Solidarity legalised, which the government refuses to do.

The government had announced the closure of the yards, the cradle of Solidarity, for December 1 and said that workers would be offered other jobs. The government says the yards are unprofitable.

Mr. Walesa said feelings were running high and he tried to calm things down at the rally but feared the men could "at any moment take action", particularly since food price rises were looming.

A case in point was the recent two-hour stoppage by 1,000 men demanding more money at the K3 hull-assembly shipyard, he said. He added that "discontent is sweeping the whole country."

Miners at the Morcinek pit in the southern region of Jastrzebie won a cost-of-living bonus from a two-hour strike on Monday.

Since the start of the year the price of sugar has doubled, petrol gone up 58 per cent, postal services 40 per cent, and cars between 100 and 300 per cent among a wide range of increases on goods and services.

The government has announced that food prices will go up by an average 15 per cent in 1989 while inflation will reach 50 per cent compared to last year's 80 per cent.

Last week Mr. Walesa warned of "terror and blood" if the government did not compromise to improve living conditions.

More on Walesa's 5 Jan News Conference
AUI001174289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by "wu-zet": "Lech Walesa's News Conference"]

[Text] Speaking during a press conference held on 5 January in the parish hall of St Brygida's Church in Gdansk, Lech Walesa said: "I firmly believe that Poles will sit down at a 'roundtable' to solve Polish problems. The 'roundtable' is a symbol which says that Poles at the end of the 20th century should try to achieve accord in a civilized and wise manner in order to build Poland. I am ready for accord of this kind."

Replying to questions from journalists, he qualified this by saying that this was on the condition that the principle of social pluralism is observed. He went on to stress once again—and this has become something of a routine during his press conferences—that in his opinion trade union pluralism should not be fought for with stones and strikes, but with reason and patience.

Next, Walesa used very harsh words to describe the disruption of public order caused by the actions and demonstrations staged by the so-called working group of the underground Solidarity National Commission, which met in Gdynia on 18 December of last year.

He said: "Today, we are fighting for the existence of pluralism in Poland. That is why placing obstacles in the way of the main direction of change, why 'fooling about,' harms the reforms that are taking place in the country."

Andrzej Gwiazda, who was present at the press conference and is one the leaders of the Gdynia group, did not take issue with this assessment of the group's actions.

At the close of the conference, Walesa stressed his readiness to once again take part in a 'roundtable' meeting.

Transcript of Urban's 3 Jan News Conference
AUI001130089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of News conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 January]

[Text] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban held his first 1989 news conference for Polish and foreign journalists on Tuesday, 3 January. Here is the transcript.

Urban: The Western media are carrying reports and commentaries that display a lack of understanding of the present stage of talks and preparations for the roundtable. On 22 December, REUTER said: "On Thursday, Walesa said that the communist leaders have not fulfilled his conditions for taking part in the roundtable. Among other things, they have failed to promise that 'Solidarity' would be legalized. This promise was one of the conditions stipulated by Walesa, but Rakowski did not make such a promise at the plenum." Further on, REUTER said: "Last Tuesday, the Tuesday before Christmas, Walesa said he was convinced that the roundtable was very close. However, Rakowski said at the plenum that the authorities want to discuss the shape of the future trade union movement, but made no promise to consider the reinstatement of 'Solidarity'."

AP said something different on 22 December. It said that Walesa was pleased with the communist party's desire to alter the trade union system, but said that he wanted clear confirmation of "Solidarity's" legal status before he would take part in the roundtable.

In the present stage of events, those observing dialogue, and perhaps one of the parties to this dialogue, are becoming confused.

The proposal to hold the roundtable was based on a mutual acceptance of General Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement whereby the talks would take place without any preconditions and taboo subjects. Therefore, as early as last September, the subject of "Solidarity" was permitted, as was every other topic. This statement also took into account the fact that the participants of the September meeting had agreed that the roundtable would not be dependent on any preconditions. And yet this very principle is now being rejected. Now they are insisting that the authorities issue a declaration about "Solidarity" before the talks start. This is the reason for the trouble with beginning the roundtable.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski said at the 10th plenum: "We are not afraid of the pluralism that was written into the 1982 trade union act. However, implementing this pluralism depends on an accord as to its principles, forms, time, and other conditions which permit new steps in this direction."

This is a cautious statement, but it is neither incomprehensible or ambiguous. When Rakowski talks of the implementation of trade union pluralism, he does not mean coexistence between the trade union federation of miners and trade union federation of milkmen inside the OPZZ. The premier said that the implementation of statutory trade union pluralism depends on a broader political accord and on an agreement as to when, how, in what form, and on the basis of what conditions it is possible to take these new steps. In other words our stance is: Let us sit down and talk without any preconditions, just as we agreed. Let us talk about anything, in other words "Solidarity" as well, and let us try and reach an agreement as to the time, form, and conditions for setting in motion the trade union pluralism that was suspended for a certain time by resolution of the State Council in 1982.

Therefore, it is wrong to say that there is a reluctance to discuss "Solidarity." The premier described how we think this issue should be resolved during multilateral talks, with the participation of the OPZZ, of course.

The first stage of the 10th PZPR Plenum, dealing with the issue of a broader national accord, revealed differences in point of view. The premier addressed several fundamental questions to the Central Committee about trade union pluralism, among other things. These took into account the fact that some working people harbor a very real desire to see a trade union by the name of "Solidarity" legalized in some form. In his concluding speech, party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski left the matter open to consideration and consultation.

Dividing the plenum into two stages means setting in motion a democratic procedure for an exchange of views among broad circles of party members and for reaching conclusions. On the basis of this exchange, the Central Committee will return to these issues in the middle of January.

I ask observers not only to be patient, but also to understand that the development of democracy inside the party, as declared by its leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, is an integral part of and one of the conditions for the development of democratic relations in the country as a whole.

At the same time, heated talks are also going on among former "Solidarity" activists. However, Western observers have only one eye open, and these talks are outside their field of vision. I hope that a description of the views and program of Lech Walesa's competitors will not be

regarded as an expression of our solidarity or political friendship with Mr Walesa. I would rather hang myself than be accused of such a thing.

In Gdynia on 18 December there was a meeting by the so-called "Solidarity" National Commission's Working Group, a group that competes with the one led by Walesa, and to which activists like Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Andrzej Slowik, Jerzy Kropiwnicki, Anna Walentynowicz, Marian Jurczyk, Jan Rulewski, and others belong. This group has accused Walesa of treachery, saying that he has misappropriated the money that came with the Nobel Prize, this money being the rightful property of the entire group. Furthermore, this group has adopted confrontational documents, which attack not only the Polish authorities, but the American authorities as well. These authorities are accused of exerting pressure on the opposition to accept the economic reforms and policy of accord. The documents condemn private enterprise and high incomes. They say absurd things whereby some communists are turning into capitalists, just like some members of the opposition. I quote: "Some members of the opposition now own enterprises and have become firm enemies of the trade unions." They attack the West as a source of exploitation. They also criticize the church because the class of owners remains within the church's sphere, and thus within its sphere of influence. The working group says all these things. It admits that "Solidarity" has split into those who trust Walesa and those who remain faithful to the ideals of "Solidarity." It proclaims a struggle to maximize wages, with no regard for the economic consequences thereof. It calls for an end to working overtime. It calls for the formation of secret, militant groups inside private enterprises. It calls for opposition against exports of materials, energy, industrial commodities, food, and manpower. It appeals to "Solidarity" members not to waste their time on religious ceremonies. It asks them not to prevent radical young people from staging street demonstrations.

Thus, a radical stream consisting of many well-known "Solidarity" leaders really has appeared. This is a confrontational stream, one that is opposed to the reforms, and clearly a leftwing one.

My opinion of this is as follows. I consider it to be an interesting phenomenon, because it shows that the traditional political divisions that were typical of 1981 are being replaced by new ones, a new composition of political forces, and new divisions.

A new structure of forces is taking shape in Poland, and its formation requires time and patience from responsible participants and observers.

I would like to say that in accordance with my announcement on 31 December, the premier signed a series of decisions involving the closure, merger, and division of enterprises. This he did on the basis of the special powers that no longer exist. The following are some of the

enterprises that were abolished: the Communal Road Works Enterprise in Rzeszow, the Agricultural Construction Enterprise in Gryfin, the Refurbishing and Construction Enterprise in Chelm, and the "Agros" Foreign Trade Enterprise in Warsaw. There were also over 100 decisions involving the merger of enterprises, so I will not list these enterprises.

Finally, I wish to say that on 20 January, Premier Rakowski is paying an unofficial visit to the FRG on the invitation of President Von Weizsaecker, in order to attend the 75th birthday of Willy Brandt, a politician whom he knows well, a former leader, and now the honorary leader of the West German Social Democrats. Rakowski wrote a thesis about him. One may expect talks with key FRG politicians at the same time. As far as I know, Premier Rakowski is also planning a meeting with the press in Bonn.

Gemma Aizpitare-Heriz, EFE: What does the government think of the call for free Sejm elections put forth by distinguished Polish intellectuals at the civic ombudsman's office?

Urban: We wish to discuss the future election rules at the "roundtable." The National Accord Council will also discuss it, that is, if this council is formed. One can expect the next election to be based on more democratic rules than before.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: In his TV speech, Premier Rakowski said that inflation would reach 20 percent this year. This is surprising and incredible. Is it true?

Urban: Premier Rakowski had in mind something that interests the people and not the statisticians. The planned general increase in all kinds of prices this year, in other words official and contractual prices, is not to exceed 20 percent. The government will pursue this policy with the utmost determination, because we know that excessive inflation is intolerable. We are not going to make the same mistakes as our predecessors. This 20-percent increase will include every price change in 1989. Thus, price increases in 1989 will cause inflation. In a statistical sense, inflation will be higher because the effects of last year's price increases will be included in the calculations. Transferring the effects of past price increases to the present creates a 30 percent higher inflation figure. But in a real sense, we are dealing with price increases that are a fait accompli and cannot be undone. In reality, therefore, prices will not rise by 20 percent plus the 30 percent I mentioned. They will rise by about 20 percent this year.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: I have two questions in connection with Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki's interview for PAP, which appeared a moment ago.

The minister says that Poland is the only European country whose Western border is still being questioned. Could you give an example? Who has officially questioned the border recently?

Urban: It is questioned in various ways in the FRG. Some communities of former displaced persons are questioning it outright. The FRG's legal interpretation of the December 1970 treaty [with Poland] also involves an indirect questioning of this border. Though the FRG considers this treaty as binding, the FRG is also aiming toward reunification, and when this reunification occurs the treaty will no longer be valid.

There is also a lot of ambiguity in the stances of several other Western countries (I have non-European countries in mind). These countries are simply avoiding a clear stance. We believe that the questioning of Yalta and a failure to recognize as permanent the geographic-political reality established in Europe after the war contains a political threat. By questioning Yalta, one indirectly questions Poland's Western border as well.

I wish to stress that we do not think our Western border is in real danger, because it is difficult to imagine any change to the Western border without a global nuclear war. Nevertheless, the political facts I mentioned make it necessary for us to underline the fact that there continues to be ambiguity in political stances, signifying a questioning of the Polish Western border.

Boguslaw Turek: My second question: Minister Siwicki also presented a general outline of armed forces reductions, but gave no details. Perhaps you know by how much the Polish Army will be reduced and what is the Polish Army's numerical status at the present time?

Urban: I have nothing to add to the minister of national defense's statement.

Jacek Wedrowski, INTERPRESS: Could you describe the current status of talks between Poland and the GDR on the subject of the Pomeranian Bay?

Urban: There have been talks in Berlin which led to a further consensus of views. A suitable agreement is being prepared. Numerous detailed matters are being discussed right now. They have no bearing on the essence of the matter.

Another round of talks is envisaged, this time in Warsaw.

To sum up, we believe the issue really is on the way to being solved, although it has still not been solved. The issue has become encrusted in many details.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Does what you said at the beginning mean that Wojciech Jaruzelski's declaration in Ursus about two trade unions in one enterprise being out of the question is no longer valid?

Urban: No, it does not, because the need to discuss the conditions for reviving trade union pluralism means that economic effects also have to be included in these conditions. This quite simply has to be discussed. Even Walesa has said so. He said that in the present situation, trade union rivalry whereby each union would attempt to secure the best wages and social benefits would be detrimental to the reform and incommensurate with the needs that stem from an objective view of the situation.

T. Zakrewski, Television News: I would like to know what the new rules for selling cars are or what they will be. The system of reserving a car has been abolished, and we know the new prices. But I still do not know whether I will be able to simply walk into a showroom and buy any car I like.

Urban: That is a difficult question. Although the practice of reserving a car was abolished in November, sales of previously reserved cars will be continued until the end of January. The abolition of this system of reservation conforms to the desire of most of society, as expressed in public opinion polls, among other places. Of course, some professional groups for whom it was very easy to secure a car in this way will not be pleased, but the abolition of this privilege will be welcomed by those who had no access to it.

New rules for selling cars will be worked out by the end of January. I am very sorry, but for the next few weeks there will be a situation where reservations can no longer be made, and the new rules for selling cars have not yet been worked out. I am sorry about this temporary state of affairs.

As far as the future rules are concerned, one thing is almost certain. People for whom a car is an essential tool of trade will be given cars by their employers for their free use as long as they maintain a job that requires the use of a car. This applies to some doctors, veterinarians, and so on. Apart from that, rules governing credits for cars are being discussed with the banks.

Although the new car prices are criticized as being very high in relation to earnings, they are not equilibrium prices. They are much lower than free market prices. Therefore, I do not rule out the selling of cars by auction. If shop prices are not equilibrium prices, there have to be some rules for selling cars. Please be a little patient, but I warn you that any solution will cause dissatisfaction. Given our level of incomes and level of car manufacture, there is no ideal solution.

John Daniszewski, AP: Now that the rationing of gasoline has been abolished, could you tell us what the situation is with meat rationing? Are we waiting for meat production to increase before a decision on meat rationing is reached?

Urban: Of course, the supply of meat is still being examined, because it must reach an appropriate level before meat rationing can be abolished. However, the government is determined to abolish meat rationing. Nevertheless, this must be done in a way that alleviates the fears of those who believe that they will have limited access to meat, or that there will be a shortage of meat in the shops, or that they will not be able to afford meat. It is envisaged that the prices of food will increase by about 15 percent this year. Therefore, the abolition of meat rationing will have to involve such an increase in the price of meat. I do not want to say much at this stage, but there are ideas about how to eliminate meat rationing gradually, so that people sensitive to the supply situation will not feel endangered.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: Since the abolition of gasoline rationing, there have been kilometer-long lines of people waiting to buy it. Is this panic justified by the meager stocks of gasoline?

Urban: Please ask the Oil Products Enterprise. I cannot explain why there are lines and I am not in a position to assess stocks of gasoline at filling stations. I can only say generally that the entire operation was planned in such a way that there would be no shortage of gasoline. It is possible to calculate quantities and supplies of gasoline in relation to the new prices, but it is more difficult to estimate human reaction. Supplies of gasoline have always been connected with certain waves of increased supply and reduced demand. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

Zbigniew Satala: Could you divulge what new associations have been registered?

Urban: There have been a few, such as the Social Human Rights Committee in Warsaw; the Polish-American Friendship Society, with its headquarters in Poznan but nationwide coverage; the Social Education Commission, whose mission is to create private educational establishments; and the Association of Workers Self-Management Aktivists. Two youth organizations connected with church circles have been registered. They are: the Association of Catholic Academic Youth, and the Academic League. This league consists of Warsaw University students. Then there is the Society for Promoting Construction for Young People, consisting mainly of Catholic activists; the Society for the Prevention of Suicides; the Society of Soviet Citizens Permanently Resident in Poland; and the Society of Siberian Deportees. These are new organizations that were registered in the last few days of December.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Why have no equilibrium prices been set for cars?

Urban: Because it is enough to go to a car auction in order to see that equilibrium prices would be shockingly high.

Sir, there are two truths that govern cars in Poland. Basically, buying and owning a car is more secret than the demand for gasoline. The number of cars in Poland doubled between 1980 and 1987. If there were 20 cars for every 100 households in 1980, and I mean worker households, then in 1987 every third such household owned a car. At the same time, the price of a small Fiat rose from Z92,000 in 1980 to Z690,000 in 1987, and that of a large Fiat rose from Z182,000 to Z1,350,000.

Cars have also become more expensive in relation to earnings. In 1980, one could have bought a small Fiat for 15 average monthly wages. Unfortunately, in 1987, for a somewhat more modern version of this car, one would have to have spent 23 monthly wages. And this more or less applies to all other types of cars.

So when one compares the prices of cars with wages, these prices are very high, and it would come as a shock to society to carry out an economically unjustifiable operation of establishing free prices, fixed by supply and demand. These prices would be no lower than the prices at auctions.

Nevertheless, the fact that the number of cars in Poland is increasing quite fast despite the increased prices gives grounds for optimism.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I beg your pardon, but it has always been said that the practice of auctions is merely an unofficial way of establishing market prices.

Urban: Indeed. But I only mentioned these auctions as an example. I did not say they will be held in the future. I said that they are being discussed.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: There is a lot of talk about duty-free zones in Poland. Now there is an idea of creating such a zone along the entire length of the Odra River. What do you think of this idea?

Urban: As far as I know, the duty-free zone would not cover the entire length of the Odra, but just the stretch between Wroclaw and Kozle. Work is at an advanced stage on creating a duty-free zone on Poland's eastern border in the region of Terespol and Malaszewice, where there is a railroad yard where goods enter Poland. The quantity of goods it handles equals the quantity handled by the port of Gdynia.

All the ideas on setting up duty-free zones are the subject of economic analyses, but generally speaking the government supports the idea of duty-free zones and will rapidly make decisions in this direction.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Since yesterday, there have been tumultuous lines not only in front of filing stations, but also in front of passport offices. And no one knows what the new rules are. Does the government intend to display some kind of information?

Urban: I will pass this suggestion on. Obviously there are many people who would like to secure for themselves a passport to be used at a future occasion and keep it at home. This is a new kind of decision. Passport offices need time to issue the necessary number of passports. After all, the number of employees has not changed. One cannot suddenly increase the number of office clerks. Therefore I think these are temporary problems caused by the novelty of the situation.

However, one can expect the crowds in passport offices to subside once the applicants have received their passports and will not have to visit a passport office again for several years.

In other words, one can view these lines as a temporary phenomenon.

Renate Marsch: Why were no notices or information boards prepared? People simply stand in line and have no idea of how much is to be paid and where it is to be paid. And no official tells them. Applicants simply inform each other.

Urban: There has been information in the press. Perhaps there has been a lack of some information, but you should ask the heads of the relevant offices. A government spokesman has no way of knowing what kind of notices are displayed or are not displayed in a passport office. This is no place for such petty questions.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Is it true that a banner calling for the release of political prisoners was affixed to the Central Committee headquarters?

Urban: Yes, it is. Having diverted the attention of a militiaman who was guarding the building, two or three young people began to climb the scaffolding outside it. They told the militiaman that they would throw themselves off the scaffolding if he tried to stop them. Convinced that these people posed no threat to the security of the building and its employees and faced with this blackmail, the militiaman did not intervene. The security guards inside the building invited the daredevils to enter through a window. Having explained themselves, they were released. One of them explained that he was taking part in a hunger strike. I do not know whether or not he was served a meal as punishment.

Michael Broniatowski, REUTER: You said that another four small enterprises were closed down on the last day of December. Does that mean that the Lenin shipyard is the only large enterprise due to be closed?

Urban: No. It means that apart from the Siechnice steelworks, the shipyard is the only large enterprise to be closed on the basis of the special government powers. Just because the government did not use these powers against other large inefficient enterprises does not mean that they have a happy life ahead of them. All it means is

that they can no longer be closed by means of an administrative decision, but only through normal liquidation procedures. In many cases, these procedures are already being applied.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: There is a group of dissidents led by Wojciech Ziembinski that has already written two letters to Mikhail Gorbachev, asking for the return of the ashes of General Okulicki, the last commander of the Home Army, and the ashes of two other Polish state activists, all of whom died in Moscow following the trial of the "sixteen." Would the Polish authorities be willing to support this request?

Urban: I do not know about this idea, but we always accord respect to requests that possess such a moral dimension as this.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: The Christmas issue of POLITYKA carried an extensive article about the idea of setting up a telecommunications enterprise in Poland with American capital. Is this subject officially known to the government, and what eventual decisions can be expected?

Urban: Perhaps it is known to the government, but it is not known to me. I have not read the article. A press conference by Deputy Premier Sekula is planned for tomorrow, and I suggest that questions connected with the economy be kept until tomorrow, because Deputy Premier Sekula is much more qualified to answer questions as intricate as this.

Michael Broniatowski, REUTER: I know you have already spoken on this subject, but there are strong rumors that former Security Service officers Pekala, Chmielewski, and even Pietruszka [sentenced for the murder in October 1984 of Father Popieluszko] have been released from prison. Have you anything to say about this?

Urban: The information I have received negates these rumors, which means that they are false.

Neighbors', Own Role in Environmental Troubles
PM1001114489 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI
in Polish 31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 p4

[Commentary by KAR correspondent Wladyslaw Fialkowski: "Blank Spot Is Black Spot"]

[Text] Both in Poland and the USSR the notion of "blank spots" is a familiar one. Except that here in Poland we understand it to mean only the missing pages in the history of our mutual relations.

But there is also another type of "blank spot" about which we are still silent. To the best of my knowledge, the Soviets have not gotten around to discussing it either.

These "blank spots" concern an altogether different area—an area which is quite embarrassing for us. Let me discuss one such "blank spot" here.

We are all well aware of the mounting problems associated with the protection of our natural environment. Today those problems are no longer domestic concerns of individual countries; they have become an international issue because, to give just one example, pollution of the atmosphere (and also of water) spreads beyond international boundaries. We know that here in Poland almost half of all industrial emissions—in particular those of the most harmful sulfur compounds—are generated not by our own industries but by those belonging to our neighbors, especially the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and also the FRG. In 1980, for example, Polish territories received airborne industrial emissions containing, in terms of the pure substance, 275,000 tonnes of sulfur from the GDR, 157,000 tonnes from Czechoslovakia, and 115,000 tonnes from the FRG. Altogether, it totaled a surplus of 547,000 tonnes of sulfur in the atmosphere, all of it settling on our fields and forests and being absorbed by our bodies.

The problem of the threat to Poland's natural environment from industrial activities carried out by our neighbors has been discussed in the columns of our papers, albeit none too energetically. The subject is also being debated by joint mixed commissions. On the other hand, the fact that Poland's industrial activities (that is, harmful emissions discharged by Polish factories and power plants) send clouds of harmful substances over USSR territory has so far been passed over in silence. Talking again in terms of pure substances, annually the border regions of the USSR, that is, mainly Ukraine and Belorussia, receive 592,000 tonnes of sulfur from Polish sources. The harmful substances damage the local crops and are inhaled by the people. Their volume is greater than the total volume of harmful substances received in Poland from the three most highly industrialized countries in this part of Europe. For the sake of fair argument it is, however, necessary to add that we, in return, annually receive 31,000 tonnes of sulfur from the USSR in the same, airborne, form of transportation.

So far the whole issue constitutes uncharted territory, as it were. We in Poland have been unable to control the problem of sulfur wastes in the atmosphere. We know—for example, from information available in the Soviet press—that in the Soviet Union the problem of the protection of the natural environment is becoming a top priority issue. It has become evident that neither the vast size of the country—which is predominantly rather thinly populated—nor the still well-preserved richness of its natural life constitutes sufficient protection against ecological disaster. Consequently the subject of pollution in the border regions is bound to be raised sooner or later. Resolution of that problem will no longer be a question of mutual goodwill but of essential and urgent

cooperation in environmental protection (which, incidentally, should extend beyond the neighboring border areas) which we would be well advised to consider already today.

Politburo 3 Jan Session Described

AU1001153889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Jan 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] On 3 January, during its first working meeting in its new composition, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo examined the country's sociopolitical situation at the beginning of 1989.

It also discussed the preparations for the second part of the 10th Central Committee Plenum. The Politburo theses for this plenum and the problems raised during the first part thereof are encouraging debates inside party organizations, increasing the energy of PZPR members, and attracting nonparty people and the young generation to the talks.

Businesslike, constructive statements, full of concern for the party's future, predominate. The speakers refer to basic ideological issues that determine the party's identity, as well as issues connected with the process of reforming the state and economy. Many speeches concern internal party affairs, especially changes to the method and nature of party functioning in the political and economic system, the meaning of democratic centralism, and ways of making the work of party cells more social.

PZPR members are expressing their opinions on problems raised by various streams of opposition, including trade union pluralism. The "roundtable" is being vigorously discussed.

The Politburo stressed that the process of democratization initiated by the PZPR, the increasing variety of political life, and the radicalization of the economic reforms all call for modern methods of party activity.

The Politburo called for the full use of the outcome of consultations and discussions when preparing the draft 10th Plenum resolution.

OPZZ Spokesman on 9 Jan Executive Session

LD1001032489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Statement by OPZZ press spokesman Franciszek Ciemny—live in studio]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to inform you that the OPZZ Executive Committee ended its session late this evening. Discussion concerned the current subjects with which the workforces of enterprises are engrossed,

namely the socioeconomic situation and trade union pluralism. The statement published after the session, says that the Executive Committee is against the concept of an anticrisis pact, understood as an agreement of different social and political powers that would have to express their consent for lowering the standard of living.

The fundamental reorientation of the state's socioeconomic policy was recognized as necessary. The Executive Committee stressed that attempts to divide the working people serve to strengthen the critical situation. These are the actions that aim to preserve the remains of the Stalinist system on the surface of sociopolitical life. It also is stated that the discussions on trade union pluralism, which are being put forward are the ersatz of genuine actions toward political pluralism because trade union pluralism without political pluralism is, according to trade unionists, a threat of further antagonistic division of society, its antagonization, which has nothing to do with the idea of national agreement.

The OPZZ has 7 million members and considers it its duty to warn against the consequences of the short-sighted socioeconomic policy being advocated by the authorities. Instead of antagonizing society, it is necessary, according to the trade unions, to create a broad coalition of social forces defending the working people's interests. The OPZZ expresses its will to create such a coalition and to participate in it.

Moreover, the OPZZ Executive Committee adopted the following subjects for negotiations between the trade unions and the government before the opening—it was stressed—of talks on the subject of a new social agreement. It is suggested that joint commissions take up seven such subjects. Four of these are connected with the amendment of legal acts, namely the law on pension provisions for employees and their families, the law on trade unions, the law on collective labor agreements, and the law on remuneration systems in enterprises. Moreover, the commissions should take up the issue of working time in the state economy, that is to restore—it was stressed—3 times 8: 8 hours of work, 8 hours of rest, 8 hours of sleep. The seventh subject is to discuss in a consistent way outlays in the budget sphere.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Executive Committee today deliberated in a closed session. This is unheard of, but as can be seen, the subjects tackled are quite open. Thank you.

PZPR's Stepien Interviewed, Biography Noted

AU0301171089 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 30 December on page 2 carries a 1,200-word unattributed interview, entitled "In Culture, Works Are the Most Important Thing," with Marian Stepień, Central Committee secretary, who was appointed to this post by the 10th PZPR Plenum. Stepień is also a professor and authority on Polish literary history. The interview commences with an introduction to Stepień's

literary activity: "PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Stepien has devoted his entire literary career to the history of Polish literature," say the authors. "He is a graduate of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, where he obtained a doctorate, and where he has been a professor for 4 years. Many of his works are known. However, two topics of his work predominate: The creative output of Polish left-wing writers, and the output of literary emigres since the war." Stepien's political career is described: "Marian Stepien was first secretary of the Jagiellonian University PZPR Committee. He helped found the 'Kuznica' ['Forge'] club of left-wing men of culture in Krakow, of which he is vice president. He is also chief editor of ZDANIE ['OPINION'], one of the most attractive titles offered by our sociocultural press. The 10th Plenum appointed him Central Committee secretary, responsible for culture and art."

The single question addressed to Stepien reads: "With what feelings and hopes are you starting your new and exceedingly responsible work, and which of them do you consider to be the most important ones?" In reply, Stepien says: "It is easier to talk about the difficulties that await us than to express hope that things will improve. But basically, hope is in the heart of anyone who has not abandoned his efforts, even though they are reluctant to admit that they are optimists because they are full of doubts, uncertainty, and bitterness caused by the disappointments they have suffered." He continues with further philosophical views and literary quotations. However, he concludes: "The second part of the 10th Plenum and a party theoretical conference will take place in 1989—both in January—and in April the National PZPR Conference of Delegates will be held. I am sure these events will turn out to be milestones that will mark the party's road to reform."

Polish Opposition Member on Domestic Situation

AU0401114289 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 31 December on page 5 of its supplement carries an interview with Aleksander Paszynski, member of the "Polish constructive opposition," by editor S. Molnar, under the headline: "On the Other Side of the Roundtable."

The interview focuses on Paszynski's views on the Rakowski government and its attempts to improve the domestic situation in Poland. As president of an advisory company for private construction, called "Murator", Paszynski claims that the government is in fact "copying their economic concepts", is asking credit for them, and "it dreams of an efficient economy while trying to maintain the prevailing political order." According to Paszynski, "most of the government proposals had first been formulated by the opposition" and this is one of the reasons for his refusal to join the Rakowski cabinet—because "an organization that intends to improve economic activity.... should, to a certain extent, stay in opposition, even if it does not intend to overthrow the government." Analyzing Rakowski's strategy, Paszynski is quoted as saying that the premier is basing his concepts on "three doubtful hopes," namely, on the flow of foreign credits, mainly from the FRG "in the form of a mini-Marshall Plan;" on a considerable decrease in military expenditures; and on reform laws on economic activity.

As for Solidarity and its leader, Paszynski praises Walesa's political maturity and claims that "Solidarity has come of age" and has become "a mature partner for the government." In his view, Solidarity turned from a "revolutionary social democratic movement" into a more "liberal democratic movement" which no longer claims monopoly of power.

The interview concludes with an appeal for joint activity to improve the situation in Poland.

Elimination of Chemical Weapons Demanded
AU1101114589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0950 GMT 11 Jan 89

["SCINTEIA: Romania Speaks Up and Militates for the Liquidation of Chemical Weapons and, at the Same Time, for the Phased-Out Elimination of All Nuclear Weapons"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/1/1989—The halting of the arms race, the effective passage to disarmament, to the liquidation of all nuclear weapons, of all the weapons of mass destruction in the first place, are among the major goals of the present-day world for the attainment of which Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu militate with unflinching consistency.

Romania participates in the Paris conference inspired by the constant wish to back and grant its support to the actions meant to contribute to the halting of the arms race, to disarmament, to the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, to a radical cut in conventional weapons, armed forces and military spending.

The chemical weapons, just as the atomic weapons, belong to the category of weapons of mass destruction, and their utilization in a possible war can have catastrophic consequences for the very conditions of life on earth due to their tremendous destructive potential. In the Geneva protocol the international community had and has a legal and diplomatic instrument that deliberately bans the use, in case of war, of toxic agents or bacteriological methods of warfare.

It is an indisputable fact that the Geneva protocol played a positive role as a deterrent factor as far as the use of these weapons in the Second World War is concerned since not even Hitlerites dared to resort to them. Unfortunately, in the postwar period the chemical weapons have been continuously developed. As a matter of fact, in the shadow of the nuclear weapons, the chemical weapons have developed ceaselessly being now integrated into the actual arming and warfare tactics, jointly with the nuclear weapons.

All these are unavoidable realities that cast light on the importance and urgent character of the prohibition of all the weapons of mass destruction, which also include the chemical weapons.

This is the stand Romania has unabatedly taken. Many changes, deep-going transformations have occurred in the world since the adoption of the Geneva protocol in 1925. The current dominant of the international life that determines the huge danger that could be posed by another world war is the nuclear arms race. For some states, that possess suchlike weapons, defence relies, as is well known, on "nuclear deterrence." And it is precisely

the stockpiling of ever larger amounts of most sophisticated nuclear weapons that pose the most serious threat to mankind, as their use could lead to the annihilation of life on our planet.

All these developments take place in conditions of a still serious and grave international situation. Facts show that although some positive steps have been made of late, the policy of the use and threat of force, of interference in the domestic affairs of states continues to be manifest. There still are states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, the contradictions between rich and poor countries sharpen, the economic gap widens, all these being themselves sources of new tensions.

In Romania's conception, restated most clearly on New Year's Eve by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the problem of banning chemical weapons should be approached in a global vision on realities. Romania is for a passage to the liquidation of chemical weapons and at the same time for the stagewise elimination of nuclear arms. This requires that the elimination of chemical and nuclear weapons should be done concomitantly so as to ensure a balance of forces and not to allow the utilization of some arms as a blackmail means on other states. Likewise, Romania is for the reduction of conventional arms and military spending in close connection with the elimination of chemical and nuclear arms. The simultaneous implementation of chemical, nuclear and conventional disarmament measures, under strict international control, would contribute to strengthening confidence and stability the world over. One may say that it is unconceivable to reach an effective renunciation of chemical weapons without a general accord on the renunciation and liquidation, in a corresponding period, of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction. In fact, in the conditions of nuclear arming by some states and the maintenance of the war danger, the countries which do not have nuclear arms, may consider that the chemical weapon can also be a deterrent arm. In this respect, it is significant that in the debates at the Paris conference, the representatives of numerous states pointed out that the problem of banning chemical weapons should be approached in close connection with the problem of banning other weapons of mass destruction, nuclear arms first and foremost.

In Romania's outlook, reiterated at the Paris conference, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons can be achieved only concomitantly with the actions and practical measures of reduction and liquidation of nuclear arms, of all weapons of mass destruction, other armaments, of elimination of the policy of force and threat of force from the international life, of putting interstate links on new bases, of equal rights, respect of independence and sovereignty, of non-interference in home affairs.

According to Romania's position, the conclusion of an accord on banning any utilization of chemical weapons and the production of like arms, as well as on the

destruction of the existing stockpiles, should be closely related to the conclusion of a universal treaty on the eradication of nuclear arms, on halting their production and tests, the outlawing of nuclear arms.

In this spirit, Romania—that does not possess chemical weapons—will further work for the speeding up of the works of the Geneva conference in both domains, which should effectively start negotiating an international instrument of banning and liquidating nuclear arms too.

Romania works steadily for the creation of a zone of peace collaboration and good neighbourhood in the Balkans, free of chemical and nuclear arms—targets seen in close units. Likewise, Romania backs similar proposals advanced by other countries referring to the centre and north of Europe, to other parts of the world.

It is beyond doubt that in the approach to the chemical weapons issue, to the prevention of their dissemination, to their banning and destruction, account should be taken, in Romania's opinion, of the need to develop the chemical industry for peaceful purposes, which requires the free and unhampered participation of all states in the exchanges of products, in the international cooperation in this domain.

Starting from these facts, Romania believes, just like other countries, that the political document to be adopted in Paris should not merely reconfirm the 1925 protocol, but, on the strength of the deep-going changes occurred in the world, underscore the imperative of elaborating a universal convention on banning and destroying chemical weapons in close unity with the elimination of nuclear arms, of all weapons of mass destruction.

Goals of 1989 Economic Program Outlined
AU1001190389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1826 GMT 10 Jan 89

["Romania 1989: Intensive Development of the Economy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/01/1989—The programme worked out by Romania at the beginning of this decade regarding a passage to a new socioeconomic development stage in which quality, efficiency and competitiveness should become preponderant has been based on substantial quantitative accumulations from the previous five-year periods: The investment volume grew 33 times in the 1951-1980 interval, fixed assets amounted to 1,864 thousand million lei by the end of

1980 seeing an 8.3-time growth as to 1951 and the working personnel stood at 7,430,000 persons (a 346 per cent increase in the above-mentioned period).

The indicators of the five-year plans in the 1980s were so correlated as to attain the strategic target set. The tasks envisaged by the annual plans were so concretized as the national plan for the respective quinquennium be fulfilled both with the indicators of quantity and with those of quality.

As it is the case of the socioeconomic development plan for 1989 adopted last December by the country's parliament. It provides for an 8-to-9 per cent growth of the national income in comparison with a 5.5-to-6.5 per cent increase of the social product. The value of the net industrial output is envisaged to grow faster (9-10 per cent) than the value of the marketable production (6-7 per cent) which reflects a slower growth of material expenditure than the value of the industrial output. In agriculture, the intensive development this year is reflected by a 6.0-6.5 per cent rise of the net production of this branch as to a 5.0-5.5 per cent dynamics of the overall output.

The preponderantly intensive character of the Romanian economy is also illustrated by the higher growth rate of the social product (5.5-6.5 per cent) in comparison with that of the total investments in the economy which grow only 4-5 per cent being worth 300 thousand million lei. Investments will be concentrated on hastening the putting into operation of the under-way projects, on capital repairs and overhauls, including the modernization of the respective fixed assets. They will be earmarked with priority for the implementation of the programmes for the modernization and equipment with new machinery and outfit, considerably decreasing the share of construction works in the total investments.

The stress on quality in production units also reflects in the provisions regarding a 7-8 per cent higher productivity in the all-country industry and a 35 lei reduction of total expenses in 1,000 lei worth of marketable production as well as in the growing contribution of scientific research and technological engineering to solving problems referring to the modernization of production and of fabrication technologies, the diminution of material and energy consumption, the introduction and extension of new mechanization and automation systems.

The plan provisions ensure Romania's growing participation in the international commercial exchanges and economic cooperation. The foreign trade volume is to grow 7-to-8 per cent from 1988, the levels set being based on a more marked increase of exports and their efficiency.

Demonstrations Held in Titograd 10 January

Protesters List Demands

LD1001154289 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Excerpts] A protest meeting is in progress in front of the Montenegrin Assembly building in Titograd, where about 20,000 citizens have gathered from several Montenegrin collectives, including students from the Veljko Vlahovic University. The organizing committee of the protest meeting has made the demand that within half an hour the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and the Montenegro Presidency must reply to the questions which have been asked. Radio Titograd journalist (?Mirsad Rastoder) reports:

[Begin recording] [(?Rastoder)] The workers of Radoje Dakic, after they failed to accept the conclusions of their LC action conference which held a session last night lasting a full 9 hours, this morning at about 0800 hours left the factory and made their way to the Montenegrin Assembly building. [passage omitted]

Despite the large number of those present, until now the meeting has been very dignified and without a single incident. With only the occasional written slogan, the familiar slogans could be heard: "Resignations, resignations! "Down with armchair politicians," "The people will judge you," "Kosovo is ours," "I am hungry, I am hungry," "Together we are stronger," "We want young cadres," and the songs "Who Is It Who Dares Beat the Workers," and "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia" were sung, as well as others.

Just before 1300 the gathering was addressed by the chairman of the organizing committee of the protest meeting, Svetozar Vukcevic. As well as making a proposal for the committee members and an agenda for the work of the protest meeting stating that the committee has the right to control who can speak, he told those present of the demands of the Radoje Dakic workers.

[Vukcevic] One, that the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and its executive secretaries submit their unconditional resignations. [cheers, applause]

—That the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro and the executive secretary submit their unconditional resignations. [cheers, applause]

—That the Montenegro SR Presidency submit its collective resignation. [cheers, applause]

—That the member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro submit his unconditional resignation. [cheers, applause]

—That the president of the Montenegrin Assembly submit his unconditional resignation. [cheers, applause]

—That during these changes demands be formulated and established for cadre renewal in all sociopolitical organizations and communities.

[(?Rastoder)] The approximately 20,000 people present then listened to a speech by chairman of the management board of Radoje Dakic, (?Drago Sofranac) and another five speakers, and the organizing committee at 1330 set a time limit of 2 hours for the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and the Montenegro Presidency to say how they will respond to the demands which have been made. So, at about 1530 the first address to those present by a member from the republican leadership is expected. [end recording]

Worker Reiterates Demands

AU1001164389 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Speech by Svetozar Vukcevic, worker at the Radoje Dakic Construction Machinery Plant and president of the organizational committee at the protest meeting in Titograd on 10 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrades! I have already informed you about those who have joined in the work of our meeting. However, at the same time I would like to inform you that the (?presidents) of all these work organizations here said that they do not want to take part in the discussion because they fully agree with our views and because they want to avoid repetition.

However, in order to inform all those who arrived later with our stands, I will read them out again in order to explain why we are (?demonstrating). The workers' demands stem from the nonimplementation of the 13 demands of the Montenegrin workers class, which are well-known to us. Because of their nonimplementation, we today presented demands that are in fact the same, except that they are worded somewhat differently.

Let us hear them again:

One, that the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium and its executive secretaries tender their irrevocable resignations. [cheers]

That the Montenegrin LC Central Committee accept these resignations, hold an extraordinary congress, and set up a working group for preparing the extraordinary congress.

Two, that the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro and the executive secretary tender their irrevocable resignations. [cheers]

Three, that the Montenegro SR Presidency tender its collective resignation. [cheers]

Four, that the Montenegrin member of the SFRY Presidency tender his irrevocable resignation.

That the president of the Montenegrin Assembly tender his irrevocable resignation.

That during these changes, demands for the cadre renewal of all sociopolitical organizations and communities be established as formulated.

Therefore, my feeling is that the newly arrived workers from the (?numerous) work organizations have endorsed these stands with their support and that we can continue with our work. Thank you.

Ivangrad Workers Leave for Titograd

LD1001173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Ivangrad, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—Workers from Ivangrad set out on foot some time after 1500 for Titograd because they were not given buses to transport them to the protest meeting in the Montenegrin capital. Prior to this, over 600 workers from the bankrupt cellulose and paper factory and other collectives in Ivangrad expressed their support for the justified demands of the Titograd workers at a solidarity meeting in front of the municipal assembly.

Demonstrators Await Statement

AU1001175489 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] At present there are some 50,000 workers, students, and citizens gathered in front of the Montenegro Assembly to express their dissatisfaction. Let us hear from our reporter Dragoljub Pavicevic:

[Pavicevic] Here in the square in front of the Montenegro Assembly building [words indistinct] there are significantly more workers, students, and citizens than during similar gatherings on (?7 and 8 November) of last year.

An official statement of the Montenegro LC Central Committee and the Montenegro Presidency is expected any minute. Order in front of the assembly is being maintained by four cordons of militiamen. The mass of people is continuously (?rising), and on two occasions there was a danger that the gathered workers, students, and citizens would enter the Montenegro Assembly building.

Patience is running out. The last speaker was Slobodan Vujetic, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy from Niksic. He appealed for dignity and said that Montenegro has risen in a dignified and free way. We are proud of our workers, who cannot be stopped (?as those near Zuta Greda). Justice must win, Professor Vujetic said.

Numerous workers and students were recently joined by the workers of the Kosuta plant of Danilovgrad and the workers of the 19 December of Titograd as well as the workers of the Titograd branch of Belgrade Institute.

The square is dominated by a slogan: We are also for urgent changes, [words indistinct], then pictures of Comrade Tito, Veljko Vlahovic, Ljubo Cupic, and a large banner: Work and self-management are our future.

This is all for now. In about 10 minutes the official statement of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and the Montenegro Presidency is expected to be read in front of the assembly.

Organizers Address Crowd

AU1001193789 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] This is the first program of Radio Titograd. Let us hear from our reporters in front of the Montenegrin Assembly:

It appears that the members of the organizing committee are discussing who will read the statement of this committee. There is much pushing there, and dissatisfaction among the people has culminated. The militia cordon is giving in. Everybody is tense; everybody is expecting something. (?People who have been) in front of the cordon have been moved away and [words indistinct].

It appears that Momir Bulatovic, secretary of the university conference of the LC, will read the long-awaited answer.

[Unidentified speaker] Comrades, I would like you to hear Comrade Momir Bulatovic, member of the Veljko Vlahovic University LC Conference and member of our organizing committee. Let us hear him to the finish, and then you can make your comments. Momir will speak about relations between the presidium [passage indistinct].

[Bulatovic] Comrades, dear colleagues, respected people. Allow me, on behalf of the organizational committee of this meeting, to address you and ask for your attention.

Nobody from among our large and growing committee has had an opportunity to express our thanks for the confidence that has been expressed. On behalf of all members of the committee, I thank you for your exceptionally dignified behavior, persistence, and disregard for fatigue, cold, and the darkness which has already arrived.

This meeting has already achieved its great aim. The Yugoslav and world public has had an opportunity to see [words indistinct] that every honest person knows what kind of people we are and what we want.

Much greater and richer nations would also like to have this will and decision, and this level of political culture and orientations toward progressive, human aims. For the sake of what we are and what we want to be, I ask you again to listen to me carefully and to express your views at the end.

At 1630 [1530 GMT] the organizational committee was invited to attend a meeting with the most responsible leaders of the republic. This was simultaneously the first invitation for talks and the first opportunity to exchange views after more than 9 hours of this meeting.

The organization committee decided to send four of its members to the meeting: Milica Stojanovic-Djurisic, Predarag Bulatovic, Ljubisa Stankovic, and myself.

The other side included Bozina Ivanovic, president of the Montenegro Presidency [loud booing], Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium [loud booing], and Bozidar Savic [pause], and Bozidar Savic [Bulatovic repeats himself], vice president of the Montenegro Assembly.

The meeting lasted some 10 minutes. The instructions given to us by the organizational committee contained the following: We had only the right to ask whether our demands from the participants in the meeting were received and when, and what answer could be expected.

In order not to retell the views of the Montenegro LC Presidium and the Presidency, I will risk it and present you the integral text of the official view of the executive-political organs of the state and party. I ask you again to let me convey the views and proposals of the organizational committee concerning the entire situation after that. This document I am about to read, since it is very brief, was only received a few minutes ago.

At its session held today, the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium discussed the political situation in the republic and the demands of the participants in the meeting, which were presented by the organizational committee on the same day at 1450 [1350 GMT]. As regards the demands, the Presidium has decided to hold an extraordinary session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee on 12 January [loud cheering]. The presidium will inform the Central Committee of the demands of the participants in the meeting [pause, indistinct voices in background]. Please let us hear the statement until the end. The Presidium will inform the Central Committee of the demand of the participants in the meeting regarding the resignation of members of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and the executive secretaries and demand that it make a concrete decision on this.

The Presidium will demand that the Montenegro LC Central Committee take a political stand concerning the demand for the resignation of the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Montenegro LC

as well as of the executive secretary and will inform the LCY Central Committee Presidium of this view. The Montenegro LC Central Committee has already decided to convene the 10th Montenegro LC Congress this year. At the extraordinary session, the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium will propose that [shouts interrupt the speaker]. Please let us preserve dignity, please [more crowd noise]. Please be patient, let us listen. Let us continue what we have been doing since this morning in a nice and humane way. [crowd noise; somebody is heard remarking: I can't stand it.] Comrades, please listen. [noise continues, another voice near the microphone is heard saying: Jump over their points and present our stands in full.]

[Unidentified speaker] We must read them.

[Bulatovic continues] The Montenegro LC Central Committee has already adopted the position that the 10th congress should be held this year, but the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium at this extraordinary session will propose that the Central Committee more precisely determine the date for the holding of the 10th, extraordinary congress of the Montenegro LC.

The Central Committee will also establish the concrete duties and the method of preparing this congress. [crowd noise]

Please, from the Montenegrin Presidency [crowd noise]. Comrades, please go back, we plead to you, stop for God's sake.

[Announcer in studio] Respected listeners, as you can hear, the situation is extremely, extremely dramatic. A part of the answer by the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium read by Momir Bulatovic was not accepted by the people gathered there. It is obvious that, judging by the reaction, the workers are not pleased.

[Bulatovic] Please listen, listen to the proposal of the organizational committee, please [more shouting]. Please listen to the proposal of the organizational committee. [indistinct voices]

[Announcer] The members of the organizational committee obviously do not know what to do because the gathered people do not want to listen to the statement of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium. The militia cordon is fivefold and is giving in. The workers and students embittered with the statement have already stepped on...

[Unidentified speaker] Please listen to the view of the organizational committee on these stands to the end. Listen to what we think we should do later. We also are not pleased with what we heard. Please listen with dignity as to what we further propose.

[Announcer] These were the calming words of the president of the Montenegrin Youth, Dr Ljubisa Stankovic. Let us see whether the crowd will listen to him and whether it will hear the answer til the end. It appears that patience has run out, masses are [indistinct voices] and there is a real danger that the gathered people will break into the assembly building.

[Stankovic] Please, there are some injured people, please, take care, go back. There are some injured people in this crowd, please go back. [indistinct voices]

[Announcer] It seems that at this moment there is nobody who can [sentence incomplete]

[Unidentified speaker] Hear what the youth think, what the university thinks [crowd noise]. Please, listen to this. Some people have been injured. We must read our views, and you want to hear them. Therefore, regain your dignity to listen to it. Please do this; this is the only way we can read it. These conditions are unbearable. We are waiting until it will be possible to read our statement. Please go back.

[Announcer] Dear listeners, Radio Titograd microphones have relayed directly from in front of the Montenegrin Assembly, where the situation is rather complicated.

Let us hear from our reporter Dragoljub Pavicevic:

[Pavicevic] Here we are in a room of the Montenegrin Assembly building. Nobody is safe here any more. There is a great crush at the entrance, in front of the Montenegrin Assembly door. Workers, students, and citizens are mixed up in the crush. The militia cannot maintain order any longer. As you have heard, those who spoke [passage indistinct].

[Announcer] Colleague Pavicevic, I propose that we can now hear Momir Bulatovic again:

[Bulatovic—in progress] ...that somebody can and should lead this people. This meeting is organized and carried out by the people. The people will and should make decisions at this meeting. [cheering] The organizational committee did its best to carry out technical preparations, coordination, and present information. Unfortunately, our duty is also to convey to you this kind of news, which worries both you and us. The organizational committee is of the opinion that there is nothing else that can contribute to the realization of the demands of the participants in the meeting and has decided to cease with its work. The organizational committee has decided to return the microphone to the Montenegrin Assembly. We are coming down among you and will continue with the protest. [loud cheers]

From now on responsibility for the total development of events and possible consequences lies with the people. Everything that happens should be the responsibility of

the leadership. The leadership has shown that it does not care for the people, as the people do not care for this kind of leadership. Finally, I must inform you that none of the officials who were criticized is still in this building.

We are continuing with the protest gathering, and I plead to you again not to give any reason for the use of force against the people for disturbing the public order and peace. [indistinct shouting]

[Announcer] After this, dear listeners, the situation has become extremely serious and uncertain. The night before us carries many uncertainties, and nobody can predict what will happen on 10 January, after 44 years of socialism in Montenegro and Yugoslavia. Dear listeners, we will get back to you with new information in about 10 minutes.

Protesters 'Dissatisfied' With Reply

LD1001205289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The meeting in Titograd is assuming dramatic proportions. Dissatisfied with the Montenegrin leadership's reply to their demands, the participants in this protest meeting attempted on several occasions to break through a police cordon and enter the Montenegrin Assembly. They were calmed by the words of Dr Ljubisa Stankovic, a member of the organizing committee who requested that the meeting continue in peace and dignity and that the participants maintain order, as they have done for the last 12 hours.

Before Stankovic spoke, the meeting, which is currently attended by more than 50,000 people, was addressed by Momir Bulatovic, also a member of the meeting's organizing committee, to communicate the Montenegrin leadership's reply.

This republic's LC Central Committee Presidium, Bulatovic said, has adopted the stance that the demands for resignations of party officials be considered at an extraordinary session of the Central Committee on 12 January, when it will also be proposed that there be consideration of the demand for the holding of an extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin LC.

The reply provoked stormy disapproval, so that Bulatovic was unable to read the announcement of the Montenegrin Presidency.

When the crowd calmed down following several attempts by the other members of the organizing committee, Bulatovic announced the organizing committee's stance.

We too are dissatisfied, Bulatovic stressed, with the reply of the top Montenegrin leadership, and for this reason we have decided to pass the microphone to the Montenegrin Assembly and come down and join you so that we can continue this protest meeting together.

This is what the members of the organizing committee did. They are presently in front of the building of the republican assembly together with workers, students, young people, and citizens of Titograd, Niksic, Cetinje, Mojkovac, and other places in this republic.

People Injured in Crowd

AU1001193889 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Report by Milovan Kovacevic]

[Text] A large mass of people remain in front of the entrance to the Montenegro Assembly building. A small number of them are dispersing. The most persistent and vociferous ones remain right at the entrance, chanting slogans, singing songs, and (?behaving threateningly).

There are many (?militiamen). There has not (?been much use of force). I must say that the men in blue [words indistinct] display understanding, as much as possible under such conditions, for the people who make demands [words indistinct].

Some people have been injured, as in the dense crowd, some people near walls were crushed [words indistinct], so the ambulances are on the spot and are providing first aid to people.

(?What else is there to report? We) had to leave the Assembly building, having been ordered by the comrades from security to leave the premises [words indistinct]. (?In the course of the evening) we will carry timely and objective reports on, I would say, the most decisive events in socialist Montenegro.

Numbers 'Somewhat Dwindled'

AU1001204689 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2024 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] What is the climate in front of the Montenegrin Assembly? Our colleague Caslav Vujtic has just returned and reports:

[Begin Vujtic recording] People are demonstrating peacefully in front of the Montenegro Assembly building. They are singing patriotic songs and shouting slogans. Workers penetrated to the very door of the Assembly, but no further, for the door is locked and there is nobody inside.

The steps in front of the assembly building have been occupied chiefly by us journalists, and all that we could see from there were the banners that we have mentioned, but also empty places amidst the crowd in which the (?Montenegro) kolo is being danced.

The members of the organizational committee can also be seen, (?together with) students. People approach them and talk with them, encouraging them to assume leadership of the gathering again. However, they refuse to do so. They believe that there are no grounds for this, considering that the Montenegrin leadership at its meeting with them gave no hope whatever that any resignation would be submitted.

It is difficult to assess how many people there are in the dark, but it is certain that their number has somewhat dwindled since the afternoon.

We walked in the streets a little, and we noticed that a sort of a promenade has been formed along the Blazo Jovanovic Boulevard. People saunter there, walk to the Assembly building, and wait for new announcements.

(?We have learned of) no violations of public peace and order. [end recording]

Demonstrators 'Persevere'

AU1001223789 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Dissatisfied with the decision of the presidency and the presidium of the republic, several thousand workers, students, youths, and citizens of Titograd and other towns of Montenegro have continued a dignified protest meeting in front of the Montenegrin Assembly. It has been quiet so far; no incident has been recorded.

The people attending the protest meeting have not dropped their demands: irrevocable resignations by the members of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium and its executive secretaries, the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro and the executive secretaries, collective resignations by the presidency of the republic and the member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro, the resignation of the president of the Montenegrin Assembly, as well as a cadre renovation of all sociopolitical organizations and communities.

Reporter [name indistinct] has just returned from in front of the Montenegrin Assembly. Let us hear what news he has to tell us:

[Begin reporter recording] Individually, in pairs, and in groups [words indistinct] some of those attending the protest meeting are slowly leaving the square in front of the Montenegrin Assembly building. Many are leaving to rest and to refresh themselves, and there are also some who are returning from the city center after a short or long break.

The most persistent people, of course, remain. One can hear some songs, and one can hear an occasional cry against the leadership and members of it. Groups discuss what has happened, whether it was this way or that, how it could have happened or why it did not.

In Ivan Milutinovic Square in Titograd, groups of the Ivangrad Cellulose Plant and the Bijelo Polje Wool Combine workers are dancing the kolo. All the restaurants are closed. People are hungry and some of them only lightly dressed, but they say they will persevere as long as the meeting continues, and they say this will be until the demands of workers and students are met. [end recording]

Militia 'Controlling' Situation

AU1001233889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Zovojin Jerotijevic report]

[Text] The Montenegrin leadership did not accept the demands that it submit its irrevocable resignation. This is why the organizational committee of the protest meeting disbanded and the people in front of the Montenegrin Assembly are still waiting. The militia cordon is controlling the situation without difficulties. Reinforcements have been noticed to have arrived. Here is a report by Zovojin Jerotijevic on what is currently happening in front of the assembly building in Titograd:

[Jerotijevic] The protest meeting in Titograd is gradually dwindling, but the most persistent demonstrators are still in front of the republican assembly building. At present they are singing Montenegrin songs and dancing traditional dances. Many will wait for dawn here, when, as in October last year, they will be replaced by fresh forces. Nice weather in the capital city promises that some 5,000 people will wait for the morning. As we have learned, an extraordinary session of the republican caretaker executive council is taking place behind the closed door. Although it was not announced, a statement is expected to be read. In this statement the republican government will present its views on the course of the meeting, the militia involvement, and possible ways to end the meeting.

As we have already reported, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium today held a session at which it announced that an extraordinary session of the highest republican party organ will take place on 12 January. The statement issued at that session states, among other things, that the collective resignation of the party presidium, including the executive secretaries, will be decided at the extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee. At this session political stands will be taken on the possible resignation of the member and the executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro.

This session should also verify the initiative that an extraordinary party congress be held this year, as soon as possible.

Considering that these views are a kind of attempt to prolong and water down the demands of the participants in the meeting, the organizational committee of this gathering decided to disband itself. Judging by the fact that the buildings of the Montenegrin Assembly and the Central Committee are locked and that journalists are being denied access, it is indeed difficult to say what is in fact happening in the institutions of the system which have the decisive word on questions raised by the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd.

At present, as experts on the situation in Montenegro predict, both sides are prepared to be persistent.

2-3,000 Remain at Assembly Building

LD1101023089 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0203 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—Only small groups of demonstrators, some two to three thousand, are still in front of the republican assembly building in Titograd, where some 50,000 workers, students and citizens of Montenegro's capital had gathered in the course of the previous day.

The participants of the 14-hour protest rally demanded the resignation of all members of the republican party and state leaderships. After a several-hour wait, it was announced that the two leaderships will not submit their resignations and that the matter will be discussed on Thursday by the republican party presidency.

The rejection of the demands caused a storm of protest among the people rallied in front of the assembly building.

Dissatisfaction with the Montenegrin leadership's negative response could cause strikes throughout the republic today, stated Momir Bulatovic, secretary of the Titograd University party organization and member of the protest rally's organizing committee.

Niksic Committee Issues Statement

AU1001203389 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The deterioration of the political security situation in Titograd is negatively reflecting on the political security situation in our commune, a statement by the communal Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Niksic says. The statement says that it is necessary to ensure normal work in (?Niksic) working collectives, along with intensified measures of social self-protection. With this aim in mind, it is necessary to carry out political work in good time, on the basis of the LC platform, and identify in good time the authors

of unacceptable proposals, demands, and statements that are not in line with LCY policy and do not serve the resolving of existing shortcomings.

Titograd Protest Continues Into Second Day

*AU1101075589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] The protest meeting of workers, students, and citizens continues on the plateau outside the Titograd Assembly building. The participants are not abandoning their demand that the Montenegrin leadership submits its resignation. Here is a report from Jago Stojanovic:

Many of the participants in the 24-hour protest meeting which is, I would say, stronger than the past Titograd frosty night, this morning left the plateau in front of the Titograd Assembly to return to their work places. This does not end the gathering. Flying state and party flags, dancing the Montenegrin traditional dance in groups, singing revolutionary songs, the participants are demanding the most urgent resignations according to the demands that were formulated yesterday. The participants at the rally are consistent and persistent in this even though eyelids are, as someone put it, at half-mast because of their all-night vigil.

We have said that some of the participants have returned to work and the aluminum combine is continuing production. However, the workers of the first shift in the Radoje Dakic plant have not turned on their machines. The news from factory circles is that they have again left for the rally in front of the Assembly building, in an organized way.

One can freely say that a 2-day workers open assembly is taking place here. One has the impression that production in the Titograd communes and other places will suffer and that the public is expecting tomorrow's extraordinary session of the republican LC Central Committee and the still unscheduled Assembly session so that the resignations of the named organs and officials can be decided on by those who elected them.

As I speak, the Assembly plateau is again filling up quickly and there are constant shouts of: We want resignations. We want resignations.

More Demonstrators Expected

*LD1101083089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0539 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The number of participants in the protest meeting in Titograd, which fell to several hundred overnight, started to increase again in the early morning hours. There were over 2,000 people outside the Montenegrin Assembly at about 0600. It is expected that with the start of the working day there will be even more participants, since many collectives have announced mass arrivals.

For those who spent the night outside the Assembly building the workers' canteen of the Radoje Dakic building machinery factory has been supplying food.

Protesters Call For Resignations

*LD1101093489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—"We want resignations"—this morning this was the most frequently voiced slogan at the protest meeting in Titograd, which will probably last until the demands of its participants are satisfied.

In the open space in front of the Montenegrin Assembly there are now about 10,000 people, and new groups of workers, students, and young people are constantly arriving, and not just from the suburbs of Titograd and its industrial zones but also from almost all places in the republic. [passage omitted]

Novi Sad Workers Take Part

*AU1101094389 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Respected listeners, we shall now switch on our microphones located in front of the Montenegrin Assembly. Here is a report from Boro Dejsovic and Slavko Jankovic:

Although it is only 1000, there are over 30,000 workers assembled here from Titograd, Bijelo Polje, Cetinje, Kotor, Bar, Fuzine, and other parts of Montenegro in front of the Montenegrin Assembly.

Workers from the Novi Sad Alba Work Organization have arrived with a banner which reads: Workers class of Montenegro, Alba from Novi Sad where the first provincial government fell is with you.

Many more banners and pictures of Comrade Tito, Veljko Vlahovic, Slobodan Milosevic and People's Hero Ljubo Cukic can be seen this morning. Workers of the Cetinje Kosuta plant have written the following below Ljubo Cukic's picture: He died for freedom and left the power to the people. Workers of the Titograd Drvoimpeks have written on a large banner: A leadership that does not hear the people's voice should not lead the people. Several banners are demanding that young people should come to the helm of state and party organs and organizations.

People in front of the Montenegrin Assembly are dancing the traditional Montenegrin folk dance and singing folk and revolutionary songs. There is total order at the meeting.

No Titograd Protesters Injured

*LD1101092789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0840 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—At the protest meeting in Titograd, which has entered its 2d day, so far none of its participants has been injured.

According to information from the emergency department of the local medical center, since 0800 yesterday, when the meeting began, up to the same time this morning the department has not had to attend any emergency cases, nor have any of the participants in the meeting sought medical attention.

Titograd TU 'Anger' at LC

*LD1101095389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Council of the Titograd Trade Unions today expressed dissatisfaction and anger at the stance of the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, whereby it rejects dialogue with the workers and students who, since yesterday morning, have been demanding in an extremely dignified way at the meeting in the Montenegrin capital the resignations of the state and party leadership of the republic and of its representatives in the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium is adamant in its position that the demands which have been put forward by the presidents of the trade unions and the workers' councils of some Titograd work collectives, which are at the same time the stances of the Presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of the Montenegrin capital and of the majority of the working people of Titograd, must be resolved according to the will of the huge numbers of workers and students. Any further continuation of the existing situation and the general division which has arisen between the people and the leadership cannot be a characteristic of a country which is building a socialist self-managing democracy and which is moving along the path of general economic reform, is the assessment of the Titograd trade union leadership.

Novi Sad TU Supports Protests

*LD1101134589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Novi Sad, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the City Council of the Novi Sad Trade Union Federation from today's extraordinary session has sent to the Council of the Trade Union Federation of the municipality of Titograd a telegram in which the city organization of the trade union federation and the working class of Novi Sad give their full support to the justified demands of the working class and working people of Titograd.

At the same time, a telegram has also been sent from this extraordinary session of the Presidium to participants at today's meeting in Titograd which says that the working class of Novi Sad gives full support to the "uncompromising, consistent, revolutionary and dignified struggle for the implementation of the demands of the working class of Titograd and Montenegro." We stand firmly alongside you in these dramatic and crucial moments for the working class and the people of Montenegro, the telegram adds.

Pljevlja Organizations Offer Support

*LD1101101889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Pljevlja, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The leadership of the sociopolitical organizations of Pljevlja have supported the justified demands of the working class, students, and young people of Montenegro in connection with the need for renewal in the top republican party and state leaderships. In the current situation the most important thing is for us to work in an organized way and for production in the associated labor organizations not to be interrupted, it is stated in Pljevlja. But if demands are made for participation in the meeting in Titograd, then this should be organized in a dignified way.

Never have such great changes of direction been attempted by the same people as now—this was stressed, among other things, at last night's meeting of the leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations. If the people have said that we can no longer continue like this, then they should be listened to.

The people have taken action to preserve that which some, for their own selfish interests, have betrayed. The current leadership has become bureaucratized and is not capable of heading the working class, which has outgrown the leadership. Let those who measure up to the task be placed at the head of the working class, in new democratic elections, in the opinion of those in Pljevlja.

Protesters Celebrate Resignations

*AU1101143989 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report from Titograd]

[Text] After a representative of the organizational committee of the protest meeting announced at precisely 1400 that all demands of the protesters had been met in practice, traditional people's celebrations began in front of the republican Assembly building, which is the way Montenegrins celebrate great political victories.

Many people are already slowly leaving the place where the protest meeting began yesterday morning with a strike by workers from the Radoje Dakic plant. The

meeting was not interrupted during the entire night because even at the time when the crowd was at its smallest, there were still a few hundred protesters here.

The news that the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro, Vidoje Zarkovic and Marko Orlandic, and Slobodan Filipovic, the executive secretary, had submitted their resignations was received with great enthusiasm. The protesters loudly applauded the offered resignation of the member of the collective head of our federal state, Veselin Djuranovic. The report that the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium has accepted the resignation of the executive secretaries of the republican and party organizations was welcomed with shouts of approval.

As we have said, people's celebrations are under way but fatigue is playing its part, many are already leaving. It is time for refreshment and rest because tomorrow is a working day again.

This afternoon, the 20th plenum of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee will begin at 1800. The collective resignation of the republican party presidium should be verified and the date of the early congress of Montenegrin LC set at it. This session will be relayed live on radio and television.

To remind ourselves, an extraordinary session of the Montenegrin Assembly has been set for the day after tomorrow [13 January], at which the resignation of the republican Presidency and the president of the Montenegrin Parliament will be decided on.

Montenegrin Government Faces Challenge

Meets in Session 10 Jan

AU1001231089 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The people taking part in the protest meeting in Titograd are dissatisfied with the position of the Presidium of the Central Committee of LC Montenegro primarily because the decision on the collective resignation of the Presidium and the executive secretaries is being postponed until 12 January. An extraordinary session of the Central Committee will be held on that day. The people taking part in the protest meeting are gathered in the square in front of the republican Assembly. Zivojin Jerotijevic reports from Titograd:

At this moment, a session of the caretaker Executive Council of Montenegro is in progress behind closed doors. A statement is expected. At about 2000 hours, Momir Bulatovic, member of the organization committee of the protest gathering, presented the positions from an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of LC of Montenegro. That caused indignation among those gathered, primarily because the political leadership of the republic abstained from communicating with the people, as well as because of the position

that the decision of the resignation of the Central Committee Presidium and its executive secretaries will be postponed until 12 January when an extraordinary session of the Central Committee will be held.

Considering the wording of the statement, one gets the impression that the resignations have in fact been tendered but that they will be decided upon in the legitimate way. The part of the statement saying that the Central Committee at its session will adopt a political stance on the resignation of the Montenegro member of the Presidium and the executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro was not well received.

The suggestion that an early congress of Montenegrin Communists be held in the course of the year as soon as possible was stormily welcomed.

Central Committee To Convene 11 Jan

LD1101082489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium has called an extraordinary session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee for 1800 today. It will assess the political situation in the republic. The Central committee will consider the demands of the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd and will decide on the holding of an extraordinary congress of this republic's LC.

Presidency Statement on Assembly Session

LD1101084089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0822 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 January (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro will propose that the republican Assembly convene within the shortest possible time so that the delegates of the top legislative body can be acquainted with the demands of the participants in the protest meeting in Titograd. In question are demands for the Presidency of the republic to submit its collective resignation, for a member of the SFRY Presidency to submit his unconditional resignation, and for the president of the republican Assembly to do the same.

The Assembly will consider these demands and make a decision on them, it is said in the statement by the Montenegrin Presidency. The statement adds that the Presidency welcomes demands which are in line with the most rapid cadre renewal possible in all parts of society.

Presidency Collective Resignation

LD1101103189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 11 Jan 89

Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro decided this morning to submit its collective resignation.

This should be adopted by the Assembly of this republic, which, it has been learned, will hold an extraordinary session as soon as possible.

LC Presidium Decides To Resign

*LD1101110289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium has decided to submit its collective resignation.

This should be accepted at this evening's republican LC Central Committee session.

Montenegrin Leaders Resign

*AU1101141589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] At the dogged insistence of the people of Montenegro, it was announced to the people taking part in the 2-day protest meeting in Titograd shortly before 1200 that collective resignations were submitted by three presidiums: the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro, the LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference.

Veselin Vuksanovic, president of the republican Assembly, also submitted his resignation.

At about 1400, resignations were also submitted by Veselin Djuranovic, Marko Orlandic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Slobodan Filipovic, and all the executive secretaries of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro.

SAWP Presidium Resigns

*LD1101113089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] Titograd, 11 January (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] Today the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference of Montenegro also submitted its collective resignation. The resignation will be decided upon by the republic conference at an extraordinary session which will be convened as soon as possible.

Tadic Speaks to Crowd on Resignations

*AU1101113789 Titograd Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Speech by Bozidar Tadic, vice president of the Montenegrin Assembly, made to protesters in front of Montenegrin Assembly building in Titograd—live or recorded]

[Text] Citizens and working people of Montenegro: The Assembly of the SR of Montenegro has just received the written resignation of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro and five members of the Presidency. The text of the resignation reads:

At its session held this morning, 11 January 1989, the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro discussed the current political security situation caused by this meeting in Titograd. Proceeding from its constitutional role and responsibility, as well as the overall situation in the republic, the Montenegrin Presidency, in order to resolve the present situation, submits to the Montenegrin Assembly its collective resignation.

The Presidency proposes to the Assembly that it hold a session as soon as possible to make a decision on its resignation. The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro calls on the participants of the rally and all working people and citizens to return to their usual obligations.

Comrades, since Comrade Velisav Vuksanovic, president of the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro, is at the moment being treated in Belgrade, he has informed the Assembly that he is submitting his resignation as the president of the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro.

An extraordinary session of the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro will be held on Friday 13 January 1989 at 0900. At the session, the entire political situation in Montenegro will be discussed in the light of the latest events and the submitted resignations will be adopted.

Comrades, I am obliged to read a short statement from the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. It reads:

Assessing the current political situation in Montenegro as very grave and dramatic and considering the possible consequences of the mass protest gathering in front of the building of the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro, the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee decided at its session today to submit its irrevocable resignation to the Montenegrin LC Central Committee at an extraordinary session which is scheduled for this afternoon at 1800. At the same session, the Presidium will give an explanation of its resignation and ask the Central Commission to take a political stand on the demand for the resignation of members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee from the Montenegrin LC and the executive secretary of this Presidium. [indistinct shouting]

At its session today the Presidium will also suggest that the Central Committee make the decision of holding the 10th extraordinary congress and establish the time the congress will be held.

Comrades, I feel obliged to express my gratitude on the proper and dignified behavior of the majority of the participants of the meeting held at a difficult [word indistinct] and, one can say, fateful situation for Montenegro and Yugoslavia. In these days of tribulations and revolutionary changes that await us [passage indistinct] the democratization of social relations. Only work and responsible behavior on the part of each one of us can solve such a deep crisis. [indistinct shouts]

I assure you that we shall do everything possible to fulfill your demands, and please allow the Montenegrin LC Central Committee to carry out its normal work at its session today, and the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro at its session the day after tomorrow. Therefore, I would ask you to resume your everyday work and other obligations, by which you will help society and yourself the most.

Assembly Plans 13 Jan Meeting

*LD1101114189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] Titograd, 11 Jan, (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] It has been learned that the [Montenegrin] Republican Assembly will hold a session on Friday, 13 January.

Today Velisav Vuksanovic, president of the Montenegrin Assembly, submitted his resignation. His ouster was another of the demands at the Titograd protest meeting.

Further on Resignation of Leaders

*AU1101112289 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] At exactly at 1130, after a full 40 hours of protest meeting, the desired result happened in front of the Montenegrin Assembly building. The members of the Republican Presidency and its president tendered, to the Republican Assembly their irrevocable resignations. The Republican Assembly will meet the day after tomorrow.

Velisav Vusanovic, president of the Republican Assembly, also tendered his resignation. Resignations have also been submitted by all the members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium which will hold an extraordinary session tonight.

Respecting the workers demands, the Presidium of the republican conference of the Montenegrin SAWP also tendered its resignation.

All this, followed by stormy approval, was announced by Bozidar Tadic, vice president of the Montenegrin Assembly.

In this way the meeting received the key and desired turn. Further announcements are expected. The number of people present is constantly rising and there are some 70,000 here. Let us remind you. This afternoon there will be an extraordinary session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee which will confirm the resignations. It will also decide the date for holding an extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin Communists.

Hercegnovi Presidium Assesses Titograd Protests

*LD1101104789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0912 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] Hercegnovi, 11 January (TANJUG)—The demands made by workers yesterday in front of the Montenegrin Assembly are justified, and the meeting is well organized, with all its participants behaving in a dignified way. This was the assessment made by the Hercegnovi League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium at its extraordinary session last night.

It was also stressed that the attitude of the Presidium of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee and the Montenegrin Presidency toward the meeting was unsatisfactory and politically unacceptable. What is particularly irritating, it was said, was that nobody from the republican leadership addressed the assembled crowd. In this connection it is particularly unacceptable to place the responsibility for the further course of the meeting on the organizing committee.

The latest events and the gatherings of workers, students and citizens outside the Montenegrin Assembly have been caused by the ineffective work of the party and state organs in resolving workers' demands which were expressed at the meeting of 7-8 October last year, in the opinion of the Hercegnovi League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium. It was stated that the republican leaderships, following those events, did not measure up to the tasks which had been set, which increased the dissatisfaction of the working people.

Assessing the political-security situation in the Hercegnovi municipality the Presidium stated that it is satisfactory. This morning workers from the Prvoborac construction work organization in Hercegnovi joined the gathering in Titograd, and workers from other collectives in the municipality have set off for the capital city of Montenegro.

Democratic Initiative Association Meets in Zagreb

*AU1001235789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Dusan Radulovic report from Zagreb]

[Text] At the meeting in Zagreb, the opening discussion on whether it is a matter of a meeting of an initiative committee or a founding meeting of the Yugoslav Association for Democratic Initiative could be called methodological, but it developed into an essential debate on whether an association formed by a group of Zagreb intellectuals may call itself Yugoslav in the expectation that the association will be joined by intellectuals from other parts of the country.

Despite invitations, intellectuals from Belgrade and Ljubljana did not come to the gathering. Prof Banko Horvat said in his opening speech that this is a counterpart of the committees in Serbia and Slovenia which, according to him, are narrow in their aims and do not solve a single Yugoslav problem.

In Yugoslavia, Horvat said, there are intellectuals who individually publish what they think from time to time, but without much public response to their views and the solutions offered. The association will present a greater opportunity for public work and influencing public opinion.

Horvat stressed that this means a continuity of the Korcula philosophy school, and of the philosophers and sociologists of the Praxis group. This is a continuation of the initiatives made years ago by these groups, Horvat said.

In the discussion here in Zagreb one could hear that the main aim of the association is the adoption of a new constitution that would define Yugoslavia as a democratic federal community. It was also said that the association could then disband. There were some people who considered that there is always some work to do defending democracy. One of those who consider that the association should disband once a new constitution is adopted was Zarko Tupolski.

To avoid the association being disbanded from outside, as was the case of the Korcula School and Praxis, one should include the possibility of disbanding ourselves, Tupolski said. He believes that a democratic constitution is a pluralist constitution, and it will open the opportunity, as he said, for the members [words indistinct] on various political foundations. According to Tupolski, the association should do the only possible thing on the fringe of this political system that is falling apart, as Tupolski assessed, and this is to gather together those people, intellectuals, who will be involved in the adoption of the constitution which will be democratic, implying pluralist.

However, this view also caused polemics and it is too early to make any comment, and it is too early to say whether the association will be formed this evening at all.

Serbian, Vojvodina LC Presidiums' Stances
*LD1001234589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—A vigorous process of democratization in both the LC and the province's political life is under way in Vojvodina. This is stated in the stances of the Presidiums of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee resulting from the debate at a recent joint session of the two party organs that were published today.

It is stressed in the stances on the current situation in the province and the Communists' tasks in preparing for the Vojvodina LC's extraordinary conference that cadre renewal is the most important immediate task in preparing the Vojvodina LC for implementing economic and social reforms. Full advantage must be taken of the changes in the Constitutions of Yugoslavia and Serbia and in the economic system in order to develop a more aggressive development strategy with complete reliance on the existing development potentials and to create new ones. The extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC must thus formulate and adopt tasks to be carried out by Communists and the basic LC organization in restructuring the economy in line with new development programs especially in agriculture, science, education, culture, and social services, in general.

The grassroots view must be respected when radical cadre renewal is carried out. This means that no one without support from basic organizations and municipal committees could be elected to any available offices, the stances stress. People should be elected who have demonstrated through their professional and ideopolitical commitment, their results and achievements that they are capable of being consistent in implementing LC policy and the policy of reforms and of brotherhood and unity.

Communists from the ranks of all of our nations and nationalities must be equally represented in the LC organs, the stances stress. The document also states that at the same time individual and collective responsibility for mistakes must be established in a well-argued and principled way.

The party Presidiums of Serbia and Vojvodina are of the view that one of the most pressing tasks is to adopt as soon as possible constitutional changes in Serbian institutions designed to enable Serbia to be constituted as a republic and self-managing community, thus strengthening unity and solidarity in the republic and allowing it to exercise its sovereign powers as a state.

The stances also stress that the further development of interethnic relations on the basis of national equality, socialist self-management, brotherhood, and unity is the Communists' continuing task.

The Vojvodina Communists and leadership have the duty to carry out their tasks consistently and comprehensively from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session, the Presidiums of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee state in their stances.

SFRY Presidency Discusses Montenegro
*AU1101144089 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 11 Jan 89*

[Text] During this newscast, we just received the following report:

At its session chaired by Raif Dizdarevic today, the SFRY Presidency examined the current situation in Montenegro. The SFRY Presidency warned that the functioning of all the system institutions in Montenegro must be ensured, and full respect must be paid to constitutionality, the rule of law, and preservation of public order. It also warned that in view of the grave economic situation in the country as a whole and in Montenegro in particular, it is particularly important to ensure regular production in all associated labor organizations and normal work in the social activities institutions.

More Discussion of FEC Presidential Candidates

Montenegro Accepts Candidate List

LD1101135389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Montenegro SR Presidency today accepted the initial list of possible candidates for FEC president. Slobodan Milosevic, Borisav Jovic, Ante Markovic, Stefan Korosec, Radoslav Bulajic, Cedomir Djuranovic, Vojo Srzentic, Ante Milovic, Dr Marijan Korosic, and Dr Dragoje Zarkovic are listed.

SAWPY Discusses Candidates

AU1101145689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] The names of all the proposed candidates for the new president of the FEC will be made known tomorrow at the SAWPY Presidium session.

So far the SAWPY has received proposals from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and the presidium of the Trade Union Organization.

The Conferences of the Slovene and Vojvodina SAWP said that they do not yet have their candidates.

Up to now the following have been proposed for the post of president of the FEC: Stefan Korosec, Milan Kucan, Ante Markovic, Slobodan Milosevic, Borisav Jovic, Dusan Sinigoj, Milos Milosavljevic, Andrej Marinc, Ante Milovic, Rodoljub Micic, Desimir Jevtic, Ljubomir Madzar, Gligorij Bogovski, and Petar Gocev.

Slovene SAWP Favors Markovic

AU1101152189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] The Slovene SAWP favors the direct election of candidates for the post of member of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia. The Slovene Assembly is being asked to determine whether this is possible according to existing legislation. If it is not, the assembly will be asked to start a procedure concerning the change in the legislation which would facilitate direct election. These are the main conclusions adopted at a session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium.

In addition, the presidium accepted Joz Smole's proposal that out of two main candidates for the new president of the FEC, Borisav Jovic and Ante Markovic, Ante Markovic be given the absolute advantage. The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium supported the proposal of the Slovene Youth Organization that the new federal secretary for national defense be a civilian.

BORBA Profiles Candidates

LD1101143989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1211 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 11 (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic from Serbia and Ante Markovic from Croatia are the main contenders for Yugoslavia's new prime minister, the daily BORBA in Wednesday.

The paper learns unofficially that the Socialist Alliance—Yugoslavia's largest socio-political organization—will tomorrow nominate one of the two politicians official candidate for the mandatory to form a new government following the collective resignation of Prime Minister Mikulic's cabinet on December 30.

Noting that either of the two candidates would be a good choice, BORBA nevertheless gives a small advantage to Jovic, who has the support of several Yugoslav federal units. His republic, Serbia, has not had "its man" in the office of federal prime minister for some time. In contrast, Markovic, if elected, would be a third Yugoslav prime minister from Croatia since 1966.

BORBA also unofficially quotes Jovic as saying in consultations that, if elected, he would take young experts, reputed in the Yugoslav public as "radical economists," for his aides and government members. The paper recalls that Jovic is considered a man willing to listen to and cooperate with those who think otherwise.

Markovic is described by BORBA as an experienced economist, politician with authority and a "man worthy of respect in many regards."

Supporting both candidates, the daily recalls that under the Yugoslav Constitution, the new government's tenure of office will be only one and a half years (left from the outgoing cabinet), which is not enough for any thorough action.

Vojvodina Defense Secretary Submits Resignation

LD1001164589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The provincial secretary for national defense, General Major Milan Kapamadzina, has sent a request to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina Assembly asking to be relieved of his duties for personal, primarily health-related, reasons.

This was announced by the provincial Committee for Information. The name of Milan Kapamdazin was mentioned at a reserve army officers session in "Elektrovojdina" in connection with the cutting off of power supplies during a 9 July rally outside the Vojvodina Executive Council, when Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo arrived. This was also discussed at a party meeting at the provincial Secretariat for National Defense, which was closed to the press.

Agreement Ends Strike in Karlovac
LD1001231889 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Summary] A strike by 580 textile workers at the Vuna-
teks factory in Karlovac ended today with an agreement
that workers will receive a single payment equivalent to
30 percent of their personal incomes.

Slovene SAWP Criticizes Assembly Budget Decisions
LD0601193889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—During its session today the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP was briefed on the report compiled by the delegates from the SR of Slovenia in the federal chamber of the SFRY Assembly in connection with the discussion about and the adoption of the law on the provisional financment of the federal requirements this year, for which the resources are secured in the federal budget. Joze Susmelj, the head of the delegation, when providing the information about the proceedings in the Federal Assembly, said that if the Socialist Alliance believed that the delegates from Slovenia have violated any principles they are ready to accept responsibility.

The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP adopted a special statement concerning this matter which says that the Socialist Alliance in Slovenia "has conducted a massive and very committed discussion on the changes to the SFRY Constitution. The Slovene SAWP urges that the working people and citizens should be briefed and should accept the importance of constitutional changes as the basis for the necessary essential reforms in the socio-economic set-up and political system and to strengthen constitutionality and legality which is the condition for asserting a law-based state. Consistent implementation of the adopted constitutional amendments is therefore of essential significance for the implementation of the reform, for the establishment of the conditions for a way out of the crisis, and also to generate the trust of the working people and citizens and of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia in the functioning of the legal institutions of our constitutional system."

Proceeding from the above, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP has resolutely rejected the way the decisions were made in the SFRY

Assembly on the federal budget and especially on financing the Yugoslav People's Army this year. It is politically unacceptable that 1 month after the adoption of new amendments and on the first occasion the Assembly was deciding on something the decisions were made in a way which was at odds with the clear and agreed substance of these amendments. This way of making decisions rightly creates additional mistrust in the delegate system, in the Yugoslav Assembly, in the relations in the federation and in constitutionality and legality.

In the statement which it has adopted the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP observed "that the constitutional and legal and political responsibility for that is borne by all those who, because of inadequate attention or deliberately, proposed or permitted such a decision to be made". The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP therefore proposes that the delegates from this republic in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly should explain the reasons for and the circumstances leading to such decisions and ask in the SFRY Assembly that the responsibility for this procedure be established and that the consistent respect for adopted constitutional amendments be ensured.

Serbian Assembly Adopts Constitutional Amendments
LD0601213289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—At a 10-hour session today, the Commission for Constitutional Questions of the Serbian Assembly established proposed amendments 9 through 48 to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, and decided to submit them to the republican Assembly for adoption.

The majority of the proposed amendments was adopted without discussion, but a certain number of them concerning the disputed questions with the provinces, provoked divided opinions between commission members from Serbia and Kosovo. For that reason, the amendments were adopted by voting. The greatest disagreement was over the use of the official language and alphabet, and about united functions of the republic in the area of the public and state security. At the end, the Serbian proposals were adopted.

At today's session, the Commission for Constitutional Questions established a text of the constitutional law for implementing amendments to the constitution of the SR of Serbia [words indistinct]. It established a proposed report about the public debate regarding the amendments, and the circumstances under which the present constitutional solutions were adopted, which bind the republic in performing elementary state functions throughout its territory.

Disagreements Voiced on Constitution
*LD0601215289 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 89*

[Text] The Commission for Constitutional Questions of the Serbian Assembly adopted, with differing views, the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution at its session today. Here is Ljubisav Andric:

The Serbian Assembly will adopt independently and in a sovereign way all future constitutions and even proposed amendments to the republican law at the highest level, provided at least two-thirds of the delegates vote for the constitution or amendments. This is the most important novelty, about which there were both great differences and heated discussions at today's session of the Commission for Constitutional Questions. Members of the Serbian Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions from Kosovo were very sharply opposed to this manner of adopting amendments to the republican Constitution. They were of the opinion that reducing the province' right to present its views, instead of the previous giving or withdrawing of agreement, also reduced possibilities for the province to influence constitutional change in the republic. According to their interpretation, the proposed solution, in essence, returns to the 1963 constitutional solutions, which have been overcome. Their explanations were not accepted and were commented on as a political desire not to change the Constitution.

There was no agreement on the important issue that the provincial constitution cannot be contrary to the Serbian Constitution. Representatives from Kosovo had different views about this, too, but the proposed solution was adopted a by majority vote.

The proposed amendment on language turned out to be the source of a major disturbance. How is it formulated? In the Serbia SR, the Serbo-Croat language and its alphabets—Cyrillic and Latin—are in official use. Members of the constitutional commission from Kosovo asked for the stance that the provincial constitution determine in more detail the equal and official use of Serbo-Croat and the language of the various nationalities on the territory of the autonomous province to be added, but this also was not accepted. It was explained that until

now only Serbia did not regulate the official use of languages and that it was regulating the official use of language now in order to ensure equality of the Serbo-Croat language in Kosovo.

There were differences of opinion about more-or-less important questions concerning the status of the republic regarding the Constitution, that is, the provinces, but it is more than obvious that the Kosovo standpoints on the constitutional changes, on the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution, and on relations in Serbia generally, are not changed at all. So there was nothing else for members of the constitutional commission to do but accept the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution by a majority vote.

Stari Grad LC Members Censured
*LD1101031489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's extraordinary electoral conference of the Stari Grad municipality LC of Novi Sad, one of the largest party organizations in Vojvodina, it was agreed that none of the previous members can be elected to a new municipal committee, nor can they be elected members of higher party organs.

The delegates of the extraordinary conference of the Stari Grad LC also endorsed a report of the working group of the municipal committee which had been set up to make a file on all the censured LC members during discussions in connection with the current political events in Vojvodina. These are about 50 Communists—well-known federal, republican, and provincial leaders—whose base is in this municipal organization.

It was pointed out that the endorsement of this document was not the end of the procedure of the active attitude of the municipal committee to the coordination and monitoring of the activity on ideopolitical differentiation.

Assembly President Popovski Has Heart Operation
*LD1001180089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 10 Jan 89*

[Text] Sremska Kamenica, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—Dusan Popovski, president of the SFRY Assembly had open-heart surgery today at the university clinic for cardiovascular surgery in Sremska Kamenica. The operation was performed by Prof Ninoslav Radovanovic and his team.

Prof Radovanovic has announced that Popovski's operation went well.